NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 12, NO. 49 NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 19, 1960

MR. K's BID FOR COEXISTENCE

UN becomes forum in effort to break cold war deadlock

By Kumar Goshal

IN A BOLD ATTEMPT to break through Western opposition to a disarmament and a nuclear test ban agreement, and to promote East-West coexistence, Premier Khrushchev announced on Sept. 1 that he would head the Soviet delegation to the UN General Assembly's 15th session opening Sept. 20. He urged the heads of governments of all UN members to lead their delegations.

Western reaction ran true to form. President Eisenhower said he would not "debase the UN by being a party to a . . . battle of invective and propaganda." Secretary of State Herter called Khrushchev's proposal "ludicrous." James J. Wadsworth, who had replaced Henry Cabot Lodge as head of the U.S. delegation to the UN, ruled out the possibility of any fruitful negotiations on disarmament or a nuclear test ban during the Assembly session.

SOME ARE CAUTIOUS: President de Gaulle contemptuously dismissed the "so-called UN." Other Western powers were more cautious; the New York **Times** said (Sept. 11) that they recognized they "could not reject out of hand suggestions that the UN session be used as an occasion for high-level talks on critical world problems." Unable under U.S. pressure to take the initiative, they were nevertheless reluctant not to concede Khrushchev's attempt to open up a road to East-West coexistence.

Others reacted hopefully to Khrushchev's proposal. Top leaders of all Eastern European countries, including Yugoslavia's President Tito, agreed to attend

(Continued on Page 10)

In this issue

DECLARATION OF HAVANA
Cuba answers back . . . . p. 3
POISON GAS IS BETTER
The new pitch . . . . p. 4
REGRESSION IN MID-EAST
The reasons for it . . . . . p. 5
THE PEKING OPERA
What we're missing . . . . p. 6
A DREAM COME TRUE
By Dr. Du Bois . . . . P. 7
UNKNOWN QUOTATIONS
The Seldes book . . . . . . p. 8

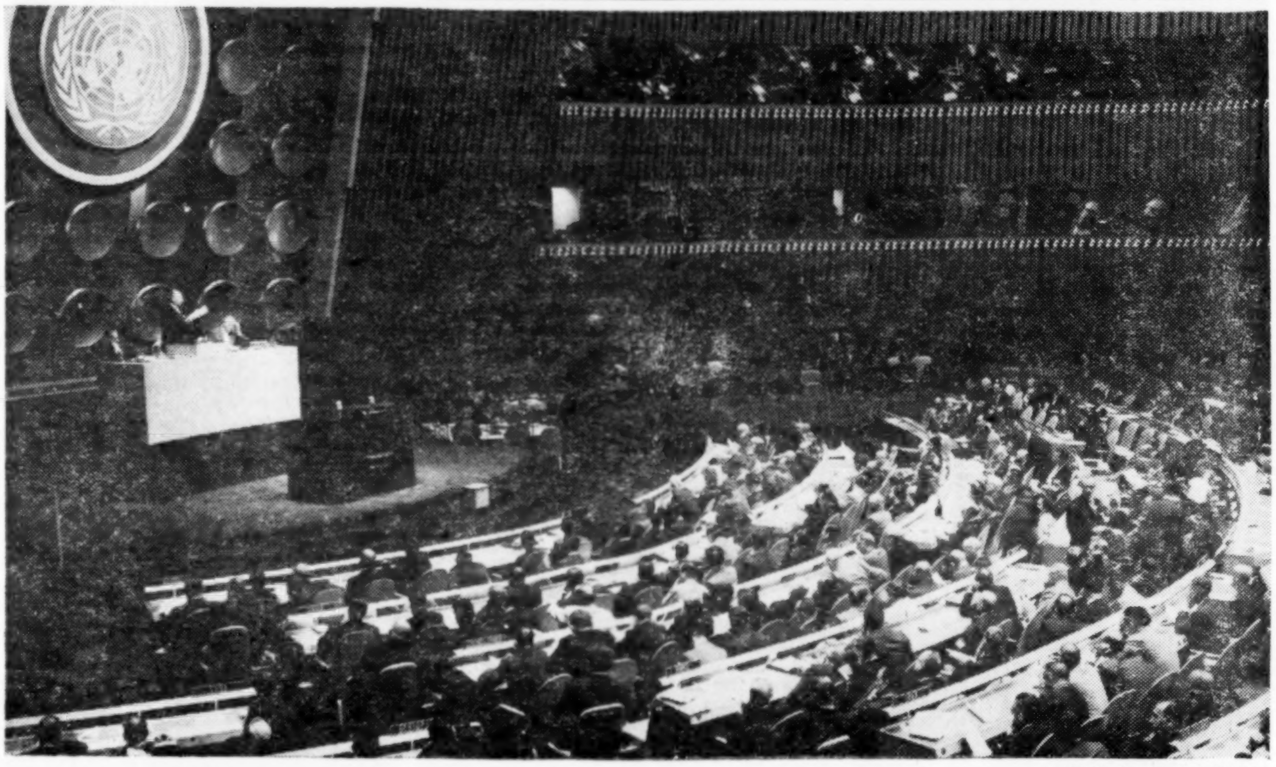


Photo by United Nations

THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY: WILL IT BE THIS OR NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION?
The West scoffs at the idea of settling disputes here but many heads of state are hopeful

SIX YEARS AFTER THE SUPREME COURT RULING

Integration is still token in Dixie's schools

By Joanne Grant

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION in 15 Southern school districts with the opening of this fall's term brings the total number which have desegregated to 766—less than one-third of the 2,833 Southern districts with a Negro school population.

While this represents a little progress, the over-all picture as revealed in a recent survey by the Southern Education Reporting Service is one of "token integration" only.

According to the survey, out of a Negro school population of three million there are approximately 182,000 in white schools. In the spring of 1960, out of 4,200 Negroes in mixed schools in the South, 3,300 were in West Texas and 512 were in Florida.

In five states of the Deep South—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina—there are no Negroes attending schools with whites. In five other states—Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Florida and Virginia—less than two percent of the Negro students attend white schools. Only in the border states of Oklahoma, Missouri, West Virginia, Delaware and Maryland is Negro attendance at white schools higher than two percent.

TROUBLE SPOTS QUIET: This may explain quiet school openings in some formerly turbulent spots. In Little Rock, 12 Negro students entered Central and Hall High schools peacefully.

At another trouble spot, the Dollarway school district near Pine Bluff, Ark., a lone six-year-old girl quietly slipped into school while 20 or more historically-minded onlookers missed seeing her uneventful entrance. Last year when three Negroes petitioning for entrance appeared at a Dollarway School Board hearing a mob of 200 whites gathered and hurled rocks at the Negroes as they left the building.

At Clinton, Tenn., a dozen Negro students returned to a new high school replacing one which was dynamited in Oct., 1958. A hopeful sign is the metal plate attached to one of the bricks in the new building which reads: "A Building Brick for Brotherhood from the San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce, Nov. 5, 1958."

THE HOUSTON PACE: One of the most significant school openings this year was in Houston, Tex., where 42,500 Negro and

(Continued on Page 9)

REPORT TO READERS: FROM SEPTEMBER TO SEPTEMBER

A tale of two visits: The return of Mr. K

EXACTLY ONE YEAR AGO Premier Khrushchev got up from the head table at the National Press Club in Washington and said to his audience of 500 newspapermen: "I beg you, gentlemen, to try to understand me a right and to convey correctly all that I say." And this is what he said:

"We would like to reach agreement with your government on issues of vital importance. These issues are many, but first of all I should like to mention the easing of international tensions and the abolition of the cold war, disarmament, a peace treaty with Germany, world trade and improvement of relations between our countries."

He spoke with moving earnestness about war: "Now that people have learned to control the energy of the atom, and rockets have been developed capable of covering thousands of kilometers in a matter of minutes, the most advanced planes, warships and tanks used in World War II look like toys compared with the latest means of warfare. Under these circumstances it would be sheer madness to allow a new world war to come to a head. To ensure peace and to banish war forever from the life of human society is the noble aim to which all people aspire . . . We are confident that war is not inevitable in our time."

The next day Premier Khrushchev went on to address the 14th Assembly of the United Nations in New York and laid out his plan for "general and complete disarmament." From there he went across the country and back, in one of the most exciting pilgrimages in the history of this nation, repeating again and again to all who would listen—and there were millions—his conviction that if mankind grasped this lever of sanity it "could be stopped from sliding into the abyss of war."

ON THE DATE OF THIS ISSUE of the GUARDIAN, the Soviet Premier will have stepped foot once again on American soil to write part II of a tale of two visits. This time he heads his nation's delegation to the 15th Assembly of the UN. His mission is the same as a year ago—peace in the world.

But the atmosphere and the auspices are far different from the Sunday evening in late September of 1959, when America sat before its television sets and watched this remarkable man, with his quicksilver face, talk about the Spirit of Camp David that had been engendered, about the plans the two grandfathers had made to bring the Eisenhower grandchildren to the Soviet Union when the President returned the call. It heard him give an elementary but rarely-heard lecture on socialism, heard him say: This is what we have built; we cherish it and we will nourish it. You have many of the good things of life; may you be blessed with more. But above all, let people choose their own

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

Garden spot

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

In the ten years since the beginning of the Korean war the GUARDIAN has held together a skeleton group of progressives, encouraging us to fight as best we can for everything good and decent. Its greatest value has been to keep the idea of progress alive and maintain the morale of the few people left nowadays who would about as soon die as live without some social decency and regard for their fellow men.

Your paper is like a garden in a desert and I shudder to think of the possibility that it might ever have to fold up!

Al Amery

View from Hiroshima

NEW YORK, N.Y.

One of the Hiroshima pilots committed suicide, but President Truman said glibly that he slept well afterwards, and that he would make the same decision again if he had it to make.

Of the 500,000 Jews living in Germany in 1933, 295,000 emigrated; 15,000 survived the war; 190,000 were murdered by the Nazis; while 190,000 Japanese civilians, men, women and children, were killed in two days by the A-bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Can we blame the Japanese people for estimating the former American President as the Jews estimate Hitler? Or for opposing a "defense pact" which may bring on the danger of destruction by a hundredfold Hiroshima?

John H. Beck.

Ben Butler's contempt

COLUMBUS, OHIO

Among those who responded to my appeal for help in my "contempt" case was that wonderful woman from New England, Florence Luscomb, who cheered us with this story:

Benjamin F. Butler was a spectator in court one day when a young lawyer was trying a case. The judge made a ruling which the young man felt to be wrong, so he started to argue it with the judge, whereupon the latter slapped a $10 fine upon him for contempt. An older lawyer present who felt that the ruling was incorrect and that the judge should be willing to listen to him started to explain to His Honor. He was immediately fined $10 for contempt. General Butler rose, walked to the desk of the Clerk of Court, took out his wallet and laid two $10 bills on the bar of justice. "What," demanded the judge, "is that for?" Replied Butler, "I've got twice as much contempt for this court as anyone here, and I'm paying for it!"

John T. Gojack
P.O. Box 335

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

COLUMBUS, O., Aug. 30—One of the scheduled attractions at the Ohio State Fair has been canceled, following a last-minute threat of picketing by the Constitutional League of Columbus. Fair officials had planned to offer a daily performance of the three-horse troika given to Cyrus Eaton, Cleveland industrialist, by the Russian government. Fair manager Rowland Bishop said: "The horses can't spread Russian propaganda, but with a big state fair, you've got to be awful careful."

—From **Variety**, Aug. 31.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: O. S., Chicago, Ill.

Announcement

ESCONDIDO, CALIF.

Swedish World Citizens are organizing a seven-month, 3,300 mile, East-West Protest March against nuclear arms and racial discrimination. Beginning April 4, 1961, London to Stockholm, via Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Moscow, Helsinki. Write Inge Oakarsson, Nemiodsgaten 23, Stockholm No., Sweden.

Valida Diehl

Why stop there?

DENVER, COLO.

The GUARDIAN in the July 28, 1958, issue informed its readers that the State Department had in its possession a blacklist of some 20,000,000 names which guided them in their denial of passports, etc. In no other paper did I find this important fact about the way our government is run. With that many people who should be devoutly interested in seeing your paper solvent why can't you get one out of 20 as a subscriber, which would be a circulation of one million?

Bob & Esther Stone

Les Kennedy girls

KATONAH, N.Y.

I can't see that it makes much difference where Ma Kennedy (Spectator, Aug. 15) and Jackie buy their clothes. They have the money and this is a capitalist society. What they spend will not spread over the people who make under $1,000 a year, will not help the Negroes to vote and will not build the schools, homes and hospitals we lack.

But there is so much to say about the Kennedys: how they buy their votes; how Papa Joe was for Hitler, AND how the Catholic Power operates in this country. The Castro statement on the hierarchy, the intolerance of the church, the brash, superficial, synthetic young man himself — these are the issues. When we find the **AFL-CIO**, J. Edgar Hoover, the American Legion, etc., beating the drums, I get scared. Nobody likes Nixon, and I abhor him, but I must agree with Walter Lippmann that the Republican victory in 1952 brought an end to McCarthy and to the Korean War.

Who is for peace? What are the influences behind the candidates? These are the questions. Not Balenciaga and Balmain.

Name withheld

•

TUNKHANNOCK, PA.

Can we reprint your Spectator? It's a honey.

W. B. Spofford, Editor
The Witness

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Certainly the article will lose Kennedy many votes. Which means that it will open the way wider for Nixon to proceed to the White House. It makes it a crime for the Kennedy women to be well-dressed, follows a line of campaigning already launched by the Republican party and the ardent admirers of Nixon. Those campaigners are trying to turn Nixon into a homespun replica of Abraham Lincoln. Pat Nixon is abominably dressed; she was a school teacher once, it seems. These are to be considered virtues sufficient to make many people vote for Nixon.

Having been poor in one's youth is not, as I see it, a virtue that will cover Nixon's many sins against human dignity.

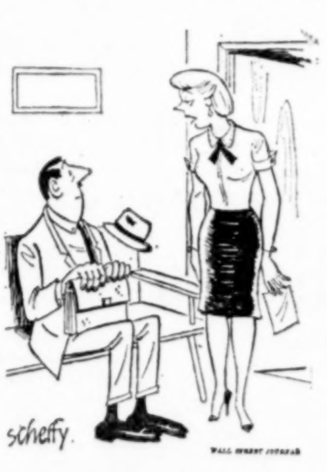
Herma Briffault

•

YORK, PA.

Delighted with your Spectator column on Les Girls. I cut it out and passed it around.

David Wesley



Wall Street Journal

"He says he's as ready to see you as he ever will be."

Proud boast

ALBANY, N.H.

When President William Jewett Tucker of Dartmouth College dedicated the new State Library in Concord, N.H., in 1895—the building in which the State Supreme Court still holds its sessions—he said:

"The one reservation which the individual citizen has made for himself for all time is liberty of conscience. In every possible expression of it, and in all its results."

Today in New Hampshire we see Dr. Willard Uphaus, defender of conscience, caged in a narrow cell in Boscawen. It was in the State Library building that the Supreme Court of New Hampshire found it correct and proper to permit a man who has spent his entire life doing good and helping others to sit in jail for a year for the sake of conscience!

President Tucker also said: "The essential contribution of New Hampshire . . . to the life of the nation has been mental character, not simply brain power, not simply conscience, but character informed and developed by the trained mind. That has been the ground of our boasting."

If there be any New Hampshire readers of the **GUARDIAN** who wish to help in restoring New Hampshire's proud boast, let them speak!

Irma C. Otto

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE CAL-NEVA is one of Reno's biggest gambling joints. Last week its manager, Morrey Brodsky, lined up his 105 employes—dealers, dice men, B-girls, pit bosses, waitresses, janitors—and presented them with a loyalty oath and an ultimatum: "'Sign or get out." They signed. Not even the girl who poses nude in a champagne glass was spared. Thereupon the manager of Harold's Club, a bigger joint with 600 employes, announced that he would march his entire staff through the streets with a brass band and administer a non-communist oath on the steps of the courthouse. For such antics laughter would seem the best antidote. But it wasn't funny. The madness was spreading.

From Jacksonville, Fla., came a story that recalled the dark days of Hitler Germany. Alexander W. Trainor was once an active progressive. Five years ago, for reasons of his own, he quit all activity, bought a home next to the chief of police, settled down to a quiet life. But he was still listed on the voting records as a communist; when the city adopted an ordinance banning communists, he was the first arrested, convicted, and sentenced to 90 days. Last week Alexander W. Trainor stabbed himself in the stomach with an ice pick. He was not expected to live.

—From the National Guardian, Sept. 20, 1950

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y.
Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, $5 a year. Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-exile* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON, *Editor*

EDITORIAL STAFF: Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Robert E. Light, Russ Nixon (Washington), Tabitha Petran, Robert Joyce (Art), David Reif (Art Library). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. CIRCULATION; George Evans. PROMOTION: Norval D. Welch. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Narendra Goyal New Delhi), Ursula Wassermann (Tel Aviv).

Vol. 12, No. 49 401 September 19, 1960

REPORT TO READERS

A tale of two visits

(Continued from Page 1)

way and let us live in peace and enjoy these things together.

Then he left our shores, and the wolves came out of the forests. A press and radio which had been partially disarmed by his presence and the impact of his words swung into action to nullify the effect of Camp David. President de Gaulle, preoccupied with his dirty war in Algeria, and Chancellor Adenauer, preparing Germany once again as the Christian bulwark to stem the bolshevik tide, found the time to persuade an unreluctant Washington and London that an early Summit was impossible.

The mad scientists and the chairborne Pentagon warriors once again took up the cry that it would be "suicide" to stop testing H-bombs and making rockets. The politicians decided that general and total disarmament was a utopian scheme devised to soften America for the kill. In Geneva the atomic test ban talks were stalled, the disarmament negotiations dragged on to nothingness.

Then in May came the debacle: The U-2 flight wrecked the Paris Summit and the President's trip to the U.S.S.R. was called off. The fiction that Premier Khrushchev had deliberately sabotaged the talks ran smack into the fact of the flight and Mr. Khrushchev's efforts to let the President off the hook with a diplomatic apology.

IT'S BEEN AN UNFORTUNATE SUMMER, farmer Roswell Garst, Premier Khrushchev's Iowa host, sadly told the New York **Herald Tribune** as he thought back to that great day down on the farm when 300 newspapermen tramped the rich black earth and heard the Premier twit Henry Cabot Lodge about the smell of a pig. "I was just sitting around on a beautiful Iowa day," Garst said, "contemplating the hellish problems in Cuba, the Congo and Jordan," where a Prime Minister had just been assassinated.

Cuba, the Congo and Jordan . . . the refrain is haunting, and it is indeed haunting Washington. For these are the real reasons the Summit was wrecked; why Secretary of State Herter is told to say that a Summit at the UN is "ludicrous in the extreme;" why the New York **Times**, in an editorial which reeked of the lynch spirit usually found in the Hearst press, wished that the "uninvited" Mr. Khrushchev would go away and stop pestering us with such "fraudulent schemes" as general and universal disarmament.

Why are they so disturbed? Because today's world is quite a different world from that of ten years ago, when the United States dominated the UN; or five years ago, when the talk of the emerging colonial nations was only talk; or one year ago, when Fidel Castro was being portrayed as a beat Latin with a rag-tag following.

Washington does not want to talk about this new world in which, if only it had eyes to see, it is taking a new licking day by day. It will do no good to portray Patrice Lumumba as a hysterical cannibal: he is a civilized and earnest young man who will not be deterred until the colonial boot is off the neck of his people. It is futile to suggest that Premier Castro is a dictator who rules by decree: a million people in a Havana square laugh this notion into the ground. It helps not a whit to tell the nations of the world to shun the help and trade of the U.S.S.R., and China: it is being offered and it will be accepted as the normal course of human relations.

This is what Premier Khrushchev has come to tell the United States: its leaders if they will hear, its people, if the leaders will not listen. He has come to say: There is still time to talk peace and sanity. We can talk if we regard each other with respect and equality, and understand that basic to all progress—under whatever system—is to make certain there will be a world in which to progress.

How incredible for the New York **Times** to describe as uninvited and unwelcome the bearer of such a message and to presume to select the guest list for the United Nations and the Soviet delegation. How insulting for the State Department to confine the head of a great power to the island of Manhattan. The incitement to violence against Mr. Khrushchev comes not from the people but from their so-called leaders.

IT MUST BE CLEAR to all who reason that the pursuit of peace has been a steady aim of Soviet policy since Mr. Khrushchev took office. Unpopular as this truth may be with some, it must be understood and absorbed before we can force a change in the policy of our own government.

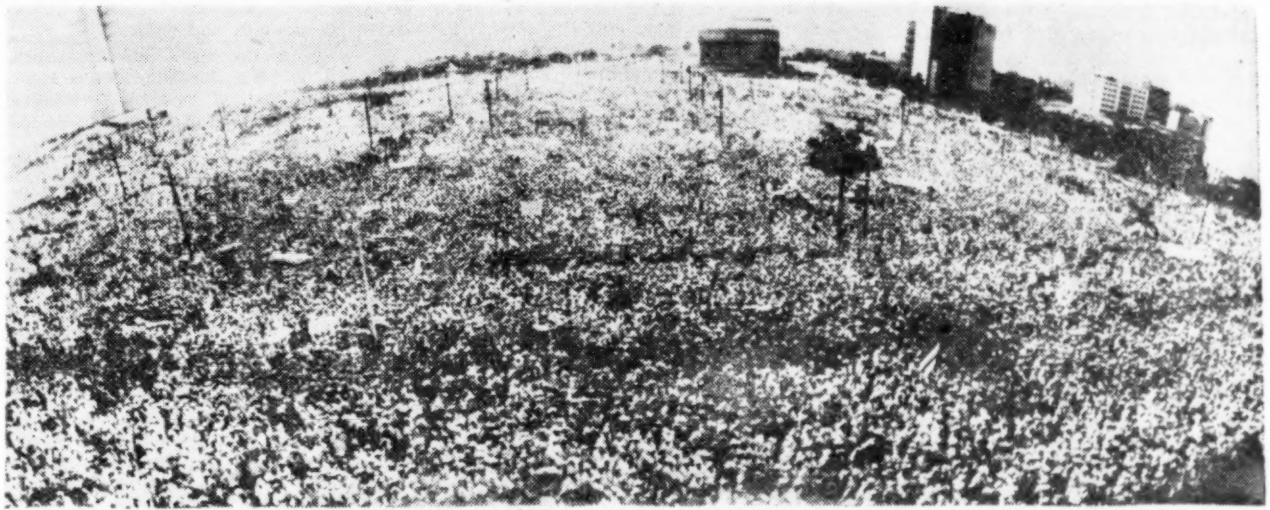
The former colonial peoples of the world understand it. The American people began to understand it a year ago, after Camp David, but the regression has been severe.

For our part, in the mood of Camp David, we welcome the visitor to our shores once again, and wish him Godspeed in his efforts to rekindle the spirit of friendship and peace among all peoples of the earth. The Spirit, if you will, of the East River. **—THE EDITORS**

HOW THE CUBANS ANSWERED THE DECLARATION OF SAN JOSE

Assembly of one million adopts a Declaration of Havana

By John Hill
Special to the Guardian



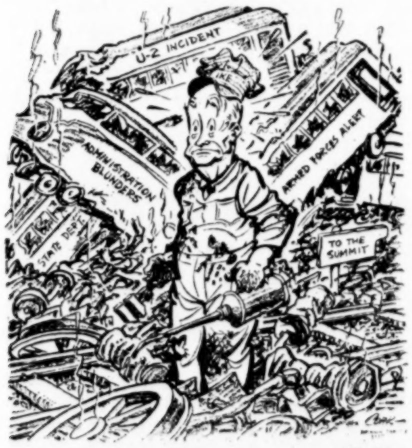
ONLY A WIDE-ANGLE PANORAMIC CAMERA COULD PHOTOGRAPH THIS MASS RALLY IN HAVANA
The vote was unanimous for self-determination and sovereignity and against U.S. intervention.

HAVANA

NEARLY A MILLION CUBANS participated in the "General Assembly of the People" in Havana's Civic Square Sept. 2 to answer the Declaration of San José adopted by the recent American foreign ministers' conference. The second such mammoth demonstration in six weeks, it emphasized the Cuban people's support of their revolution. Many peasants had traveled 500 miles from Oriente province to attend the meeting, and the crowd made a popular hero of Foreign Minister Raul Roa for the battle he put up in San José. A dozen smaller meetings of from 5,000 to 20,000 took place elsewhere at the same time.

The People's Assembly approved the following steps proposed by Fidel Castro:

- Reject the Declaration of San José as an attack on the self-determination, sovereignty and dignity of the peoples of Latin America.
- Issue a Declaration of Havana condemning U.S. intervention in Latin America, confirming Cuba's friendship with all peoples, and proclaiming the right of man to live free of oppression and exploitation.
- Annul the military assistance agreement of 1952 between Cuba and the United States. (This does not affect the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo, but Castro warned that if Washington continues its economic attacks against Cuba, another People's Assembly will be called to demand the removal of U.S. forces.)
- Accept the aid of the Soviet Union if Cuba is attacked.
- Establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.



IUE News
"It's a helluva way to run a railroad."

FULL SPEED: Unmoved by the criticism of the American foreign ministers, Cuba is proceeding full steam on its revolutionary course. Last year was called the "year of liberation," this year is the "year of land reform" and 1961 will be the "year of education" to make Cuba the first Latin American land free of illiteracy.

At the same time, increasing energy is devoted to defense preparations on the assumption that Washington would not have gone to such lengths at San José if it did not plan armed intervention. While welcoming offers of aid from socialist countries, Cuba is relying on its own unity and military preparedness to deter Washington from any such move. No figures are available on the size of Cuba's army and militia, but the total runs into several hundred thousand (this is possiblle in such a small country because even the regular military personnel works in the fields, factories and offices much of the time).

A casual observer can testify that Cuba has a high level of armed forces, with every fifth or sixth man and large numbers of women carrying some kind of weapon. The arms range from new Czech submachine guns and Belgian pistols to pre-World War II equipment and may not look very formidable to the rocketeers of the Pentagon. But the Cuba of 1960 is not the Guatemala of 1954 or the Suez of 1956, and the question is whether Washington is ready to launch the kind of action necessary to overcome a resistance which would continue as long as there is a Cuban capable of pulling a trigger.

COSTLY VICTORY: As seen here, Washington won the battle of lining up the Latin American governments against Cuba at the foreign ministers conference, but advanced the day when it will lose the war of containing the Cuban revolution within this island. The Declaration of San José will not quiet, but rather increase tension in Latin America.

Jovito Villalba, head of the Venezuelan Republican Democratic Union, part of Venezuela's government coalition, has pointed out the contradictions in the San José declaration. It reaffirms the principle of non-intervention and the right of every American state freely to fashion its own cultural, political and economic life, but would rob the Latin American states of the sovereign right to decide how to defend themselves by condemning acceptance of support or promise of support, even conditional, of an extra-continental power.

A literal interpretation of the declaration, in the light of the rejection of a Venezuelan amendment to permit diplomatic and commercial relations between Latin America and all the countries of the world, would bar the American states even from trade with the socialist camp. The document employs such terms as "obligation," "discipline" and "absolute obedience" in demanding adherence to the inter-American system—strong words which reflect the extent to which this so-called voluntary association is threatened with dissolution.

DRY ROT: The State Dept. exposed the rot in the system by publicly biding for votes for the San José declaration with the offer of a new $600,000,000 aid program for Latin America and the redistribution of the Cuban sugar quota. Roy R. Rubottom, former Asst. Secy. of State for Latin American Affairs, directed the proceedings from a restaurant near the conference hall. By such tactics, Washington has closed the door to moderation, or at least made any advocate of moderation highly suspect in Latin America. A symptom of the dilemma was the personal refusal of the Peruvian and Venezuelan foreign ministers to sign the document, and a foretaste of things to come is the resulting political crisis in Venezuela.

One important consequence of the conference may be the decline of Mexico as a continental leader, a role which requires firm and unequivocal support of Latin American interests and popular aspirations. Mexico's adherence to the San José declaration, lamely excused by reference to its non-intervention paragraph, shows the inadequacy of the Mexican government's idea of what might constitute a reasonable middle-of-the-road alternative.

When Mexico's Manuel Tello signed a document which his colleagues from Venezuela and Peru refused to accept, if only to register their personal opposition, damage was done to Mexico's prestige, which is really the prestige of the Mexican Revolution. The doubts raised by the Mexican government's failure to match its words of sympathy for the Cuban revolution with deeds at San José are reinforced by disquieting news of its growing disregard for civil liberties, most recently shown in the arrest of artist David Alfaro Siqueiros.

NO SURPRISE: Cuba was neither surprised nor disheartened by the foreign ministers conference, although there was some hope that a few Latin American governments, notably Mexico and Venezuela, would show more resistance to Washington's pressure. Castro dared the governments that signed the San José declaration to submit it for endorsement to general assemblies of the people such as the one held here.

Cuba has worked out an energetic and unorthodox foreign policy of appealing to the peoples of Latin America over the heads of their governments. While Cuba does not export revolutions, nothing can prevent Latin Americans from taking the Cuban Revolution as an example, and Castro pledged last July 26 that Cuba will be the example which will "convert the Andes range into the Sierra Maestra of the American continent."

The Declaration of Havana

THE DECLARATION OF HAVANA, which the Cuban multitude, facing the towering Jose Marti Monument in Havana's Plaza Civica, approved by more than a million voices and more than a million arms raised in the air on Sept. 2, affirmed:

The right of the peasant to the land.
The right of the workers to the fruits of his labor.
The right of the children to education.
The right of the infirm to medical assistance and hospitalization.
The right of the young to jobs.
The rights of students to free experimental and scientific teaching.
The right of Negroes and Indians to the full dignity of man.
The right of women to civil, social and political equality.
The right of the aged to a secure old age.

The right of intellectuals, artists and scientists to struggle, through their works, for a better world.

The right of states to nationalize imperialist monopolies.

The right of the people to convert their military fortresses into schools, and to arm their workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, the Negro and the Indian, women, youth, aged, and all the oppressed and exploited, for the self-defense of their rights and destinies.

IN ITS PREAMBLE, which Fidel Castro described as having "the prestige of a Declaration subscribed to by an entire people." The Havana Declaration condemns the "open and criminal intervention" forced on Cuba for over a half century by "North American imperialism"; rejects the Monroe Doctrine; rejects the contention that aid offered to Cuba by the U.S.S.R. in the event of U.S. aggression amounts to intervention; denies that either the U.S.S.R. or China have sought to "use the social, economic and political position of Cuba to disrupt continental unity"; and "reaffirms that democracy is not compatible with financial oligarchy."

The final statement concluded: "Not only have we approved this Declaration: We have promulgated the Constitution of the Peoples of America."

Lawrence J. Ryan, 46, Ex-UE organizer, dies

LAWRENCE J. RYAN, World War II veteran and an organizer for the United Electrical Workers (UE) beginning in 1941, died Aug. 19 of myelofibrosis, a bone disease contracted in the Philippines during his war service. He was 46.

Ryan joined the UE organizing staff in 1941 and served in Central Pennsylvania until he entered the army in 1943. On his return from war service he resumed his UE work until his illness forced him to quit in 1954. Thereafter he enrolled under the GI Bill of Rights to study accounting, and was graduated at the top of his class at New York University, earning a degree and admission to the national honor society of accounting. Worsening of his illness prevented him from entering the accounting field.

He leaves his wife Athene Craig Ryan, secretary of Liberty-Prometheus Book Club.

REPORTERS TOUR DUGWAY BASE FOR THE FIRST TIME

Army pushes drive for gas and germ arms

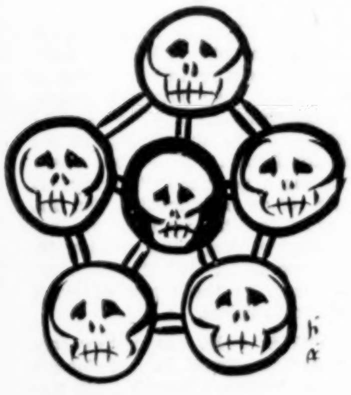
By Robert E. Light

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER apparently has agreed to let the Army Chemical Corps stage a full scale publicity campaign to "sell" chemical and biological warfare. For the first time since World War II, a carefully screened group of reporters were taken on tour of the 1,300 square-mile CBR (chemical, bacteriological, radiological) proving grounds at Dugway, Utah, on Aug. 25.

Chemical Corps brass strained for years to open up their campaign, but the Administration kept them in check. It feared that reports of U.S. gas and germ arsenals would set off a furor. Official U.S. policy was set by President Roosevelt's proclamation in 1943 that the U.S. would never use such weapons unless they were first used by the enemy. The Administration worried that stories of our CB weapons might be interpreted as a repudiation of the Roosevelt proclamation.

The Administration relaxed its ban enough last year to permit some quiet publicity. Stories extolling the virtues of CB warfare appeared in several newspapers and magazines. Exclusive interviews with Chemical Corps generals were allowed to select reporters.

DRIVE STEPPED UP: The Chemical Corps, anxious for increased appropriations from Congress, hired a civilian publicity man to step up the drive. More stories appeared. High officers made speeches to select groups. Generals testified on chemical weapons before Congressional committees. Military and government personnel toured CB installations.



But the campaign was still too tight for some in the Pentagon; they wanted it opened up. Science writer Walter Schneir wrote in **Reporter** magazine (Oct. 1, 1959) that a Chemical Corps "unofficial briefing officer" told him that a directive had been drawn up authorizing the Defense Dept. public relations office to "set up a good solid public relations program" on CB warfare. If the directive was approved, he said, press tours of CB bases could be arranged. "We could do all this [briefing] in the open then. The whole field would open up."

The directive, the officer said, needed approval from President Eisenhower, the Secy. of State and the Secy. of Defense. The Dugway press tour indicates that approval was granted.

A SPECTACULAR: Chemical Corps brass staged a "spectacular" at Dugway. From a safe position, reporters watched howitzer cannon loaded with nerve gas shells bombard "enemy" emplacements dug into a mountainside. The "enemy" was represented by goats and pigeons deployed in a concrete command post, a bunker, a two-man foxhole and a machine gun emplacement.

The 96-pound shells carried a liquid gas called GB, developed by the Nazi Army and claimed as a war prize by the Chemical Corps. GB blocks the action of cholinesterase, a chemical in the central nervous system that controls messages sent from the brain to muscles. A breath of the gas can kill in four minutes; in liquid form one drop on the skin causes death even more swiftly.

One minute after the firing, the goat and the pigeon in the machine gun nest were dead. The goat and the pigeon in the bunker died in one and a half minutes. The only survivors were a goat that wore a gas mask and the goat and pigeon in the foxhole.

RABBIT'S EYE: In another demonstration a scientist placed a droplet of an unidentified nerve agent in a rabbit's eye. In 70 seconds the rabbit twitched, gave a convulsive shudder and rolled over dead.

A small dog in a glass-enclosed cage was instantly paralyzed and rendered painless when a psycho-chemical was introduced into the air it breathed. But after an intravenous injection of an antidote, the dog bounded away.

Chemical Corps officers chatted freely with the reporters. They emphasized that the U.S. was working on gas and germ weapons because the Russians have them and defenses must be developed.

Dr. Richard Morse, Army director of Research and Development, said that "there is urgent need for public awareness of CBR activities on the part of this country, our enemies and our allies." He acknowledged that there was a general revulsion to chemical and germ warfare "ten years ago," but, he said, "there has been a lot of progress in this field."

GREAT STUFF: Col. Joseph C. Prentice, director of the CBR weapons orientation course, offered the "hard sell." He told reporters: "I'm an enthusiast over biological and chemical warfare. I think it's great stuff. It's more humane than anything else we've got."

Throughout its campaign the Chemical Corps has played the "humane" theme. It has also implied that CB weapons are better than nuclear devices because they produce fewer casualties and no property damage and are cheaper to produce. Corps officers add that ground troops can occupy a gassed area soon after attack, while a nuclear-attacked area is radioactive for months and years.

In seeking increased appropriations, Chemical Corps spokesmen always stress the development of non-lethal psychochemicals—agents that "rob men of the will to fight."

HOLES IN THE SCREEN: But through the smoke screen some points are clear. CB weapons are no more humane than any other method of mass killing. The heralded non-lethal psycho-chemicals are far from proved and may never be practical. Little is known of their long-range effects and there is no certainty that they effect humans uniformly. There is also no proof that they can be mass-produced or made into weapons effective on the battlefield.

At present these drugs are used in medical research only by a few psychiatrists. There is no evidence that the Army is mass-producing them. But there is proof that the Army has spent billions on deadly nitrogen mustard and nerve gases. Rep. Byron L. Johnson (D-Colo.) said last February that "we have enough nerve gases stored away in metal containers . . . to wipe out every man, woman and child in the world."

THE OPPOSITION: Many have been concerned with an international agreement to ban CB weapons. In August, 1959, 26 scientists from eight countries, including the U.S. and U.S.S.R., met at Pugwash, Nova Scotia, to explore the problem. They adopted a program calling for (1) all nations to ratify an agreement against use of chemical and biological weapons; and (2) a UN commission to gather information and investigate claims that nations had used these weapons.

On Aug. 29, on releasing a report on CBR weapons of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Disarmament, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) called for an international conference to study the "problems and possibilities" of control and inspection of these weapons.

In a guest editorial in the June issue of the **Bulletin of Atomic Scientists,** Prof. Bentley Glass of Johns Hopkins U. called for "a general agreement by all nations to renounce the use of such weapons, to be followed by a renunciation of secrecy and of all security controls over microbiological, toxiological, pharmacological and chemical research."

THE PLAGUE: In Europe, at least, there seem to be many ready to accept an international ban. Chicago **Daily News** London correspondent William H. Stoneman reported (Sept. 6), that "astonishment and concern" greeted reports of the Dugway demonstration. He added: "Nobody with any knowledge of public sentiment in Europe dreams that people can be led to accept either bug or gas warfare as anything but an unthinkable horror."

An unidentified American officer in London told Stoneman: "You can't sell the plague and there is no reason why we should try."

'WHY DO YOU FEEL YOU HAVE TO MAKE SO MUCH MONEY . . .?'

Drug inquiry finds wonder profits on antibiotics

ESTES KEFAUVER'S Senate Antitrust and Monopoly subcommittee resumed its inquiry into the price and profit wonders of the "wonder drug" industry on Sept. 7 with an investigation of antibiotic manufacturers. In the first three days of hearings the committee learned these things:

- For ten years three manufacturers charged identical wholesale prices—$5.10 for 16 capsules—for four leading antibiotics. Each company also listed identical "suggested retail prices"—50 cents a capsule. Prices were lowered just before the hearings opened for the first time in a decade. During the same period company profits rose steadily. Latest profit statements of leading companies range from 8.4% to 17.7% compared with 4.8% for manufacturing generally.
- Tetracycline, a widely prescribed antibiotic, costs Bristol Laboratories, a subsidiary of Bristol-Meyers, $6.48 per hundred capsules; the consumer pays $51.
- Rival manufacturers offered identical bids on government orders and each refused to lower the price for bulk orders. As a result, the Military Medical Supply Agency bought drugs abroad for a fraction of the lowest American bid. MMSA bought tetracycline from an Italian firm for $5.62 a bottle; the lowest U.S. bid was $16.75. It bought meprobamate, a tranquilizer, for $3.95 in Denmark; the lowest American offer was $19.45. Nitrofurantoin was bought in Italy for $5.50, while the lowest U.S. bid was $11.97. MMSA executive director Rear Adm. William L. Knickerbocker estimated the government saved $1,900,000 on five orders.

TIGHT CONTROLS: Broad spectrum antibiotics (so designated because they attack a wide range of infection) represent about $400,000,000 a year in sales for the manufacturers. They are increasingly prescribed by physicians for most ailments. Kefauver pointed out: "The patient normally pays about 50 cents per tablet and his prescription usually calls for a minimum of 12 to 16 tablets. Thus his initial prescription runs from $6 to $8. If the patient does not respond, the physician may prescribe a different antibiotic usually sold at the same price.

"It is not surprising that the ordinary family, particularly one with children, spends sizeable sums on drugs."

Antibiotics are controlled by a handful of companies holding tight patents. When a new antibiotic is developed, the patent-holding company maintains exclusive control for a while to reap the heavy initial profits. Later it leases production rights to select rivals. It has been charged that the leasing agreements include an understanding that prices will not be reduced.

LYMAN DUNCAN
Like running a gas station

Six antibiotic manufacturers are currently facing price-fixing charges before the Federal Trade Commission. One of the companies, Chas. Pfizer & Co., is also charged with obtaining a fraudulent patent on tetracycline.

THE 'EXPLANATION': Industry spokesmen were hard put to explain to the committee why prices are rarely lowered and how companies arrive at identical prices. Dr. W. G. Malcolm and Lyman Duncan of American Cyanamid, which produces drugs through its Lederle Labs subsidiary, said identical prices resulted from "keen competition." Duncan likened it to the competition that keeps gasoline prices the same at competing service stations.

Malcolm said it was company policy to aim for 12 to 15% profit on net sales after taxes. When he conceded that 1959 profits were 17.7%, Kefauver asked: "Why do you feel you have to make so much money when you're already way up above your goal?"

Industry witnesses—supported by Republican Senators Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.) and Roman L. Hruska (Neb.)—complained that Kefauver was disclosing trade secrets by introducing confidential prices and profit figures. Kefauver agreed to keep some of the material secret, but he introduced an inter-office memorandum from M. W. Weedon, treasurer of Bristol Labs, to F. W. Schwartz, president of the parent firm, Bristol-Meyers, showing that the company made a net profit of $239,135 after taxes on government drug orders totaling $830,625 in three months of 1956.

Hearings on antibiotics are scheduled to continue. They will be followed by hearings on vitamins, sulfa drugs and insulin. Kefauver said he would have corrective legislation ready for the next session of Congress.

PROGRESSIVE FORCES ARE ON THE DEFENSIVE EVERYWHERE

Why 'Nasserism' is dead in the Arab world

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

(First of three articles)

BEIRUT, LEBANON

THREE YEARS AGO in the wake of the Suez victory, Arab hopes of breaking the imperialist hold on the Middle East ran high. Today, anti-imperialist and democratic forces are on the defensive everywhere.

Throughout the Arab East, desert concentration camps are filled with communists and democrats: 2,000 or more are imprisoned in Egypt; about 1,000 in Syria; another 1,000 in Jordan; several hundred in the Sudan; and in Iraq, where entire trade union and peasant committees are sometimes arrested, between 3,000 and 4,000. There are no political prisoners in Lebanon, but even here, under combined pressure from the U.S. and the United Arab Republic, restrictions are tightening on political refugees from other Arab lands and some have already been deported to Jordan and Syria.

Promises to establish democratic institutions have been betrayed almost everywhere. In Egypt, President Nasser substituted so-called "pyramid democracy," based on the National Union, his political and thought-control machine, for the more democratic life and the eventual right to political opposition he had foreshadowed in 1957.

After many abortive starts reflecting popular apathy, National Union Committees and Congress, chosen by appointment and indirect election, finally materialized for the regime's eighth anniversary. This tightly-controlled structure replaces the 1957 National Assembly which, although largely hand-picked, displayed an embarrassing degree of independence and was therefore liquidated, along with the Syrian Parliament at the time of Syria's union with Egypt.

DISAPPOINTMENT: In Egypt, whose social and political evolution is older than that of other Afro-Asian countries and even of some European countries, the popular pretensions of the NU are frequently derided. But apprehension is growing; the regime long ago broke up opposition groups and is now in fact creating an all-embracing police network which increasingly invades every phase of life and activity. Trade unions and the press are already under its control.

Many Egyptians were—except for the Suez period—distrustful of Nasser and are not now greatly disillusioned. But the hopes placed in the Iraq Republic by all Arabs who "hunger for democracy" have so far not been fulfilled.

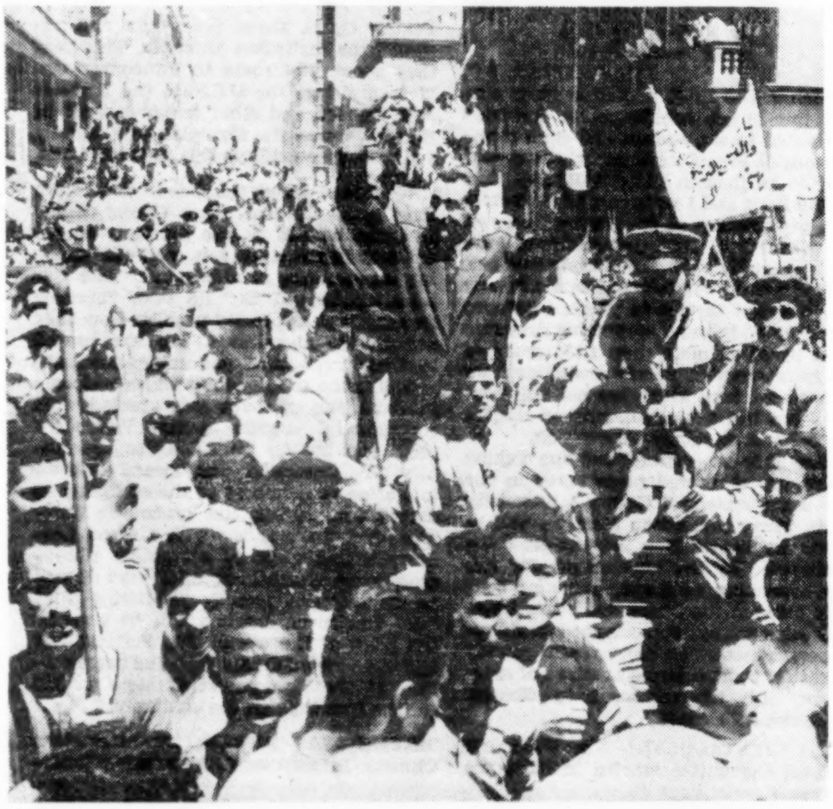
If Iraq's Prime Minister Kassem had continued to rely upon the popular forces and made good his last year's pledge to establish democratic political party life, leadership of the Arab masses would have been his. But workers, peasants and a substantial part of the middle class—a majority of the people and the overwhelming majority of the Republic's supporters—were denied legal political representation. Instead the government refused (1) to license the Iraqi Communist Party which, as Beirut's rightist **L'Orient** pointed out last February, "has proved in the course of the Republic's first 18 months that it is truly the party of the masses," and (2) barred the formation of a new Republican Party by non-communists associated with the peace movement.

OPEN STRUGGLE: In Iraq, however, unlike Egypt, forces for and against imperialism are engaged in a fierce and open struggle, and the latter, despite some severe setbacks, remain powerful. While the Communist Party is illegal, the so-called "Iraqi CP," set up by the government under the leadership of a CP renegade, remains without adherents and its subsidized newspaper has so few readers it was recently forced to close down for a time.

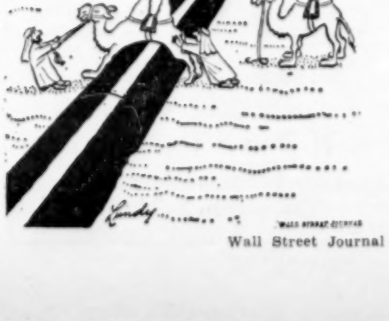
Reaction, in and out of government, has been unable to hold the National Democratic Party, representing the bourgeoisie, to the anti-communist line it adopted more than a year ago. When the party split recently, Kamel Chaderji, "Grand Old Man of Iraqi Politics," returned to its leadership on a united front program. A decision by the Ministry of Interior holding his election illegal was unanimously reversed by the 12-man Supreme Court.

Furthermore, popular pressures recently forced amnesty and a review of sentences to many imprisoned progressives.

The Iraqi government's efforts to maintain a balance between a relatively weak reaction and a strong democratic movement results in a hostile government attitude toward the Republic's main supporters. This tends to weaken its authority, at least in appearance, while military governors and local army commanders encourage right-wing terrorism and arrest and persecute democratic elements with little interference.



THE GAP BETWEEN THE PROMISE AND THE FULFILLMENT IN THE ARAB MIDDLE EAST
Four years ago President Nasser (top) was hailed as a hero by cheering crowds in Cairo. Today, his promises betrayed, Egyptian peasants still work their land with ancient camel-drawn plows.



Wall Street Journal

RICH AND POOR: The ruling class throughout the Eastern Arab world is still largely composed of wealthy capitalist pashas and semi-feudal landlords. They maintain their position by courtesy of the international oil companies or in alliance with the military dictatorships established in the past decade. The poor grow poorer and the small and painfully-emerging middle class suffers repeated setbacks.

In Egypt, ouster of the foreign privileged class constituted the real revolution. The July, 1959, elections to the National Union village committees (the so-called base of "pyramid democracy") showed no change in Egypt's social hierarchy since the last local elections in 1950. The same old ruling families remain dominant in the countryside; in the cities the pashas of business and finance (the title is still in almost universal use although officially abolished July 30, 1952) share power with the military bureaucracy and both are usually related to the landed aristocracy.

Income of individual landlords and capitalist pashas and their freedom to direct affairs have been measurably curtalled since 1952. But, as a class, the power and wealth of this indigenous big bourgeoisie has grown—partly as a result of Egyptianization of foreign enterprises but also at the expense of middle business, the middle class, and masses of the poor. If their interests are not identical with those of the military dictatorship, a working partnership has long since been cemented.

In Syria, this Egyptian ruling partnership is pushing merchants, workers and peasants alike to the verge of ruin.

NASSER'S COME-DOWN: Throughout the Arab world, "Nasserism" as a popular political force is dead. Instead of riding the wave of a triumphant nationalism, Nasser is reduced to trying to maintain his hold upon an increasingly rebellious Syria.

Four years ago Nasser could galvanize the masses from one end of the Arab world to the other simply because he stood up to the imperialists and was the first Arab leader to do so. The Arab masses, all too familiar with so-called nationalist leaders who collaborate with imperialism under the guise of "fighting communism," by and large abandoned Nasser when he deserted their anti-imperialist struggle. Such support as he retains stems from the confusion of simple people over continuing Soviet aid to his regime, his claims, whenever convenient, of Soviet support, and his periodic verbal attacks on American imperialism.

The present regression in the Arab East arises from these factors:

- **The renewed drive by imperialism, especially American imperialism, to re-establish its hold on this oil-soaked strategic heartland.** This has involved a tactical shift in American policy to support (within certain limits defined by its Israel commitments) Nasser and even Kassem, provided they suppress popular movements. If the mission of British imperialism in the Arab East in the past century was to preevnt the development of capitalism, that of American imperialism is to encourage its development under circumstances of open dictatorship.

- **Development of an indigenous Egyptian imperialism following 1957's big business-state takeover of the strategic economic centers formerly held by the British and French.** The expansionist aims of the Cairo regime inevitably split the national movement in Egypt. This split has been reflected in one way or another in all Arab countries.

- **Intensification of class conflicts chiefly as the result of the emergence in Iraq of a powerful, organized Left movement with a strong base in the peasantry—the first such movement in the predominantly peasant Middle East.** Even though the goal of this movement is not, in the present historical period, social revolution, its emergence severely jolted the brittle-thin Arab ruling class which recognized in it the future instrument of basic change in this part of the world.

Yet, as the Arabs say, beneath the ashes there is always a flame. If democratic forces are on the defensive, popular resistance to imperialism and pro-imperialist policies continues and is even increasing. The easy optimism of a few years ago is gone but in this present difficult period the anti-imperialist movement is maturing and advancing to a new stage.

NEXT WEEK: Cairo's drive to dominate the Arab world.

CANADA YES, U.S. NO

Peking Opera

By Katharine Cole
Special to the Guardian

VANCOUVER, B.C.

SINCE WE LIVE behind a paper curtain in Los Angeles, where the news is slanted to sin, sadism and similar variations of Free Enterprise, it was thanks only to an item in the GUARDIAN that my husband and I were able to get tickets to a performance of the Peking Opera at the Vancouver, B.C., International Festival before they were completely sold out.

We have no way to compare the Peking Opera to any theater in Western culture; certainly we have no blossoming dramatic form based on more than 1,000 years of rarely-interrupted development; and we have no art form which has not only survived but has actually flourished despite centuries of Mandarin opposition.

Thus it is no surprise that the Peking Opera has a revered place today in the new social system of China. A university exists where production staff as well as actors are trained. New theaters are being constructed by the government for this ever-expanding company, and new contacts between the Opera and other forms of theater are being encouraged to stimulate experimentation. Government subsidy makes for overwhelming numbers of spectators, with top admission in Chinese theaters at 20 cents.

CUBA SPECTACULAR: The Vancouver Festival Committee started inviting the Peking Opera three years ago and renewed the invitation annually. This year they came. The route to Vancouver was globe-girdling: the U.S.S R., the Brussels Fair, London and other major capitals of Europe, Venezuela, Colombia and, finally and most spectacularly this summer, Cuba.

We heard about the Cuban tour from the Opera's director, Chen Chung Ching. In Cuba, he told us, the company played not only in the cities, but everywhere, going into remote, rural regions: "The Cubans understand us," he said, "because we were both oppressed peoples. Now they are freeing themselves. We are moved by their great spirit and achievements."

Unlike the unanimously warm welcome in Cuba, the company was greeted with contrapuntal sounds in the Vancouver press and by the local Chinese community. The Vancouver **Sun** opened with an invitation to members of the company to defect. Against this the Vancouver **Province** greeted the artists with a warm fanfare: a full page of attractive photographs and sympathetic interviews as well as an editorial proudly predicting that "the Vancouver dateline will be seen in the press of the world. The Festival has added a note of drama with the presentation of the Communist Chinese artists for the first time on the continent."

MAYOR WAS THERE: The Canadian Chinese Improvement Association countered with advertisements in both papers, excoriating the Communists of China for shackling and raping nuns.

ACTRESS LIU CHI (c.) IN A SCENE FROM THE RAINBOW BRIDGE
She stuns the audience in a dance-duel with six warriors

◆

Above: Li Shao (1.) and Kushun.. the Peking Opera's top acrobat, engage in some sword play in The Three Encounters. Left: Tu Ching Fang (1.), China s first great actress, as she appears in The Favorite Mistress. As singer, dancer, actress and mime, she is her country's favorite performer.

◆

The friendly section of the large Chinese community—by far the majority—greeted the company at the train, along with the Mayor of Vancouver. Flowers in profusion were bestowed upon the artists by welcoming Chinese.

However, at the hotel, the company was greeted by a small but determined picket line of Chinese with signs in both English and Chinese saying, "All Canadian Chinese Detest Mao Tse-tung" and "Go home, Communist Agents." The pickets were out again on the opening night in front of the theater, but there were fewer of them than before. A large stack of signs lay unused nearby—perhaps because most of the Chinese of Vancouver had succeeded in getting tickets for the performances and were already inside.

NO PREPARATION: A few minutes later thousands of shining eyes began to witness a spectacle for which no amount of advance information could have prepared them. Advance publicity and program notes explained that in the Chinese theater the artists carry the complete burden of creating the illusion: there is no assistance from scenery; as props we would see only tassled riding crops, swords, other weapons, a paddle, and never more than a tāble and a chair or two on stage.

It would be through their singing, speaking, miming, dancing, music and acrobatics that they would convey the meaning of the action. They did far more. Miraculously they created the illusion of walls, doors, mountains, rivers, moving boats—even the presence of off-stage characters and their emotions were somehow conveyed.

TU CHING FANG: The director had told us we were to see Tu Ching Fang, the first great actress of China (until the Revolution all women's roles had been played by men). We soon understood why in China Tu Ching Fang commands the adoration of millions; in Western opera it is sufficient for a diva to have a voice, but along with a lovely soprano, Tu Ching Fang brings to her audience a slender, supple body, great facial beauty, impressive acting so integrated with a dancing talent which alone would qualify her for a brilliant career in the West. Her characterizations as a high-born country maiden pursuing a lover, and later as a favorite mistress of a medieval prince, exhibited a range from lyrical and comic mime of exquisite fragility to burning tragedy.

THE GIRL WARRIOR: In a playlet featuring one of their traditional characters—a well-meaning buffoon—we saw the dramatic use of acrobatics by the actor Kushun. The audience roared with laughter as he projected the ordinary Joe who dreams of himself as loyal vassal and super-human defender of justice.

A second brilliant actress, Liu Chi, as a girl warrior stunned the audience by her dance duel with six swordsmen and spear throwers. Employing the most delicate movements and incredible dexterity she warded off swords and showers of spears, first with her hands, then with her arms, shoulders and feet.

ART OF MAKE-UP The magnificent use of make-up could be an art exhibit in itself. But it becomes an integrated part of the drama. Even on first viewing one can see the purposeful design of line and color which, for example, gave the doomed prince-warrior (of "The Favorite Mistress") an eloquent expression of indecision and worried impotence. The costumes are magnificent. Brilliant in colors, delicately embroidered, covered with symbols and marks to indicate rank and character, they seem at times to decorate the entire scene as well as the artists.

It was a stand-up-and-cheer audience in the 2,800-seat Queen Elizabeth Theater. They made the company come back for curtain call after curtain call. Five scheduled performances were sold out and a sixth was added. That was all that a cross-Canada schedule would allow.

SOUTH OF THE BORDER: The prediction in the Vancouver **Province** was certainly correct; the press all over the world picked up the news of this triumph—such ovations as the artists from China received could not be ignored. Some U.S. comments, such as the one in the San Francisco **Chronicle**, expressed resentment that people in our country are being stupidly deprived of an opportunity to see this "universally acclaimed company of artists." The **Chronicle** charged the State Department with "childish diplomacy."

When we said goodbye to Chen Chung Ching he replied, without help of his interpreter: "So long."

A promise to meet again in the USA? That's up to us.

ALL
WHO
CAN
COME
are
cordially
invited to

THE WESTCHESTER GUARDIAN PICNIC

Sat., Sept. 17
• *Swimming* • *Tennis*
• *Soft Ball* • *Outdoor Eats*
For Information Call
ORegon 3-3800

DR. DU BOIS TRACES SOME AFRICAN HISTORY

'I never dreamed I would see this miracle'

By W. E. B. Du Bois

Special to the Guardian

ACCRA, GHANA

I HAVE LIVED TO SEE a dream come true. I had the vision first in the last year of the Nineteenth Century when, on the way from the World Exposition in Paris, I stopped in London to attend a "Pan-African Conference" called by a young West Indian barrister and attended by a handful of philanthropists, missionaries and various colored folk. Just what thoughts were back of the meeting, I do not know, but as I was made secretary, I wrote out my own ideas in the resolutions eventually adopted. They were simple and aimed at bringing together in regular meetings Africans, their friends and descendants to discuss and clarify their social problems.

Returning home to my work of studying the problems of Negroes in the United States, which I was then beginning at Atlanta University, I was enmeshed in the wave of lynching and mob violence which then prevailed and, opposing the appeasement doctrines of Booker Washington, I soon found myself organizing the Niagara Movement. This led to the organization of the NAACP and here one of my first efforts was the Races Congress called by the Ethical Culture Societies of England in 1911. Here I met educated colored folk from all over the world and my dream of Pan-Africa revived. But alas, World War I now intervened and it was only after the armistice that I saw an opportunity to act.

I wrote President Wilson suggesting that the Peace Congress of Versailles set up the German colonies in Africa as the nucleus of a free Africa, in which Africans would have a voice in their own government. The only result of this was eventually the Mandates Commission. Meantime, I suggested a Pan-African Congress in Paris, sitting simultaneously with the Versailles Peace Congress. Americans opposed this, although Colonel House gave me a sympathetic hearing I turned, however, to Blaise Diagne, the black Senegalese member of the French Cabinet, who had brought thousands of Negro troops from Africa to die for France. Diagne was interested and after some delay obtained permission from Prime Minister Clemenceau and the First Pan-African Congress was held in Paris in February, 1919. Few delegates were allowed to attend, except persons already in France. There were 19 delegates and our resolutions, which again I wrote, were in essence a demand that civilized folk be treated as civilized, no matter what their race or color.

IN 1921 I WENT TO WORK to assemble a real Congress of Africans. With almost no backing, financial or political, I brought together 200 delegates from Africa, the West Indies and the United States, to meet successively in London, Brussels and Paris. We gained a world-wide hearing and aroused the fear and enmity of the great colonial powers. We demanded political freedom and a voice in government for Negroes the world over, and we attacked the colonial system. We found opposition even inside the Negro race: from American Negroes who had no interest in Africa and had been taught to despise it; from West Indian Negroes who wanted wealth and political power even if it came from exploiting their own lower classes; from new leaders of these peasants like Marcus Garvey who threatened to "drive the whites out of Africa," when they were without capital or power.

We held small congresses in London and Lisbon in 1923 and in New York in 1927 and then gave up. However, the seed had not died. The leaders of West Africa, inspired by the First Pan-African Congress, called a West African Congress in 1920, which was remarkably successful and secured considerable concessions from the British government toward self-rule. Other parts of Africa heard of the Pan-African movement and of Garvey's demands. In nearly every colony some form of native organization began to appear.

DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR, Africans fought beside Europeans in Europe, Asia and Africa, and began to think. When, in Paris in 1945, the trade unions of the world met for united action, the unions of Africa appeared in force demanding voice and autonomy. They won their demands against the assumptions of the white British and American unions and immediately their young leaders demanded a Fifth Pan-African Congress. George Padmore, a British West Indian, educated in the United States and long a radical worker in the Soviet Union, Germany and England, organized the meeting and invited me to come from America and preside. We met in Manchester. Kwame Nkrumah was the secretary, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya took a leading part, Wallace Johnson of Liberia was there and some 200 other young Africans. Pan-Africa was born again.

A sixth Pan-Africa Congress was planned to take place as soon as possible, above all, to meet on the continent of Africa. Meantime, my own fortunes went awry. The secretary of the NAACP was dissatisfied with my work and I was dismissed. The Council on African Affairs under Paul Robeson asked me to assist them but they had small funds and were soon closed by the government. But as our ability to help African freedom and unity waned, the Gold Coast arose and Ghana appeared.

GHANA IS AN OBLONG of 90,000 square miles with 6,000,000 folk. It has a sandy plain bordering the great Gulf of Guinea with 330 miles of shore, a wide forest belt and a great stretch of plateau to the north. The Kingdoms of the Mellestine and of the Songhai once ruled the interior; then came the powerful Ashanti whom it took the British six wars and a century to subdue. Their kin, the Fanti, helped the British govern the land and in the mid-nineteenth century tried to join the British in founding a Confederation for joint government. But the British put their leaders in jail and tried to govern by "indirect rule" through the chiefs.

Hands Off Africa!
AFRICA MUST BE FREE!

IN GHANA THE ISSUE IS CLEAR

But some government heads don't get the message

Kwame Nkrumah was born here in a coastal town and studied in the United States. From America he came to the Fifth Pan-African Congress and then attempted to organize Africans in London. Finally, called home by the Gold Coast intelligentsia, he began organizing the natives. The native bourgeoisie did not like him and tried to dismiss him. But Nkrumah taught and organized the masses. The British put him in jail, but while he was there the masses elected him to Parliament in 1951. A wise British government permitted him to become Prime Minister and Nkrumah turned Ghana into a democracy.

Ghana became a free British Dominion in 1957 Prime Minister Nkrumah, remembering the Fifth Pan-African Congress, invited me to come to the celebration. The United States refused me a passport and sent Vice-President Nixon and encouraged the attendance of several enthusiastic Negroes who attested that our Negro problem had at last been settled by Senator Eastland and the Supreme Court. In 1958 the Sixth Pan-African Congress met as the "All-African Peoples Conference," opened in Accra by Prime Minister Nkrumah, with 400 delegates from all over the continent. I was invited and obtained a passport, but my health kept me in a sanitarium. My wife, Shirley Graham, read my message to the conference. It was applauded. Here Tom M'Boya presided, Arabic Africa joined hands with Black Africa and Lumumba announced the coming freedom of the Congo.

PRIME MINISTER NKRUMAH was made a member of the Privy Council, but nevertheless, Ghana became an independent Republic July 1, 1960. I attended the first Parliament. The day before, the last British governor had been dismissed with stately ceremony. This day a black man carried the new mace in the presence of 104 members of Parliament, the drums of the chiefs rolled the ancient call; a paramount chief gowned and crowned in gold poured libations in the doorway to his gods; women danced in solemn rhythm. President Nkrumah entered, robed and alone. The Golden Stool was unveiled and the national anthem roared.

This black man, whom a free white American once waved to a spittoon when he asked a drink of water in Maryland, was not only Prime Minister of the new nation, but also its first President. That which no modern nation had dared to do—give the people the right not only to elect a parliament but also a President—Nkrumah had done. The people of Ghana rule, but who will rule them? Their ancient culture patterns vested power in their chiefs, but these chiefs have been stripped of political power: they have no right to jail, kill nor tax, but they have a lineage older than that of Elizabeth of England. Nkrumah recognizes this power of the chiefs, but dominates it. Without this power, the chiefs are politically helpless; with recognition, they rule the people under the eye of elected regional councils. Chiefs are custodians of every foot of land in Ghana,—custodians but not owners. They cannot sell it. They know the lore of the nation, its worship, its ancient medicine, its color, dance and song.

A few days ago I saw Nkrumah clothed in white marching with the seven Osafos of Atuam. Beside him gowned in regalia of gold marched the Nana Akyin VI, Omanhene of Akyin State, whose fathers have been kings for a thousand years. This is the new democracy of Ghana which the people were dramatizing in mock battle.

WHAT NOW IS GHANA to Africa? There is in Ghana a class structure, a bourgeoise aping England; but its exploitation of the worker is curbed by a distinct ancient and modern socialism. The state controls the cocoa crop of 300,000 tons a year, the greatest in the world; but this crop was started by the peasants and beat the Cadbury's plantation plan. The state is seeking to harness the power of the Volta river, which America would like to buy. The little people still control retail trade; the women own the market place; small merchants crowd the sidewalks in front of the great Lever Brothers stores and French, Swiss and Syrian merchants.

Ghana works and works hard. The people farm and fish, they hew and split, they plant and reap. They carry on trade, they cook and sew; they build and dig. Also and just as hard they carve and color, weave and draw, drum and sing and sound on string and horn. Withal, they dream and tell tales. Thus they work.

And the whites. The race relations are curious. Gone are the Anglo-Saxon assumptions. The day of white rule is gone and gone forever. In Kumasi my wife and I slept in the chamber where Queen Elizabeth will sleep next fall and will be entertained by the same black host and hostess. The whites are courteous, some are obsequious. Many new-comers cannot believe their eyes or ears but they are neither deaf nor blind. Perhaps this is the end of their world. Perhaps.

There is ignorance in Ghana. Probably a third, certainly a fourth cannot read and write, but illiteracy lessens day by day. There is poverty in Ghana, but no hunger, no begging. There is no unemployment but wages are low and the great trade union movement is fighting this with government leadership. There are no prostitutes, and sex is lightly fettered; but fathers feed their children or go to jail.

THERE IS SOME OPPOSITION to the ruling regime; a growing bureaucracy; envy and crime. But none of this is triumphant. The people are happy, hopeful, triumphant — tantalizingly careless of time and promptitude, but frighteningly generous of property and friendship. They play, they dance, and they dramatize every action and every phase of living.

This self-ruling Ghana is at the same time leading Africa. It has bound in unity Algeria and Tunis, the United Arab Republic with Egypt, Ethiopia under its Kings of Kings, Somalia, Guinea, the new French states and British Uganda and Kenya. These last nights jet planes flew Ghana soldiers to the Congo. I heard the leviathans thunder through my dreams with black fighters and technicians beating Europeans and Americans to the very nerve center of the "Dark Continent."

I never dreamed to see this miracle. On this was piled today the boycott of South Africa. This plain duty which America feared to launch and Britain dared not do, Ghana, led by Kwame Nkrumah, has started. It is all a miracle. I am startled before it.

But this is a startling land. The trees bloom, the grass sings, men dress in togas and working women parade in colors which raise tears of joy. I have not seen a fight nor a quarrel. School houses rise day by day with 600,000 enrolled in primary, high and training schools. There is a university with 500 students enrolled and a Technical College with 615. The main hospital has 1,000 beds. Dogmatic religion, Catholics, Protestants and white-gowned Moslems seek to lead, but the state calmly builds and increasingly runs its schools, builds its hospitals, protects its forests, nurses its children and clearly sees the foe within its gates.

Ghana knows this foe is the threat of international investment, knows the great international monopolies, the trusts which seek to rule the world. It treats them with courtesy and yet begins to invite Soviet investment, recognizes the Peoples Republic of China and announces its aim to be Pan-African socialism. Kwame Nkrumah, first President of Ghana, is certainly one of the greatest statesmen of our day. There is no politician in Washington with his brains and none in the United States with his courage.

BOOKS

The suppressed quotations

THE GREAT QUOTATIONS* represents an enormous labor of love by George Seldes, author of **Lords of the Press,** founder of the widely read **In Fact** of the Forties, and noted debunker in the field of the written word.

His latest and certainly weightiest work (893 pages of excerpts of the speech and writing of more than 400 men and a few women) differs from comparable compilations such as Bartlett's, Steven's, Hoyt's and the Oxford Dictionary of Quotations in its inclusion of many more controversial figures such as Marx (6¼ pp.), Lenin (6 pp.) and Stalin (3½ pp.). It differs also in its emphasis on such foremost American spokesmen for democracy as Jefferson (13 pp.), Lincoln (8 pp.), John Adams and Tom Paine (4½ pp. each). And it digs for little-known political statements by such as Browning, Bryant, Chesterton, Darwin, Einstein, Hazlitt, Huxley, Keats, Longfellow, Lord Russell, Shaw, Whittier and Wordsworth.

The result is a new treasury of hitherto inaccessible material and much light on neglected documents of our history. The material is well arranged, explanatory notes helpful and topical headings illuminating.

WITH SOME trepidation, therefore, I must raise a question as to the emphasis given particular topics. This is a highly personal matter and an editor may well reply to any criticism on such a point, "Go make your own collection; this is mine."

Yet there does seem to be some disproportion between the hundreds—if not over a thousand—separate citations devoted to attacks on authoritarian religion and venality of the press, while such topics as women's rights is covered by 14 quotations, barely three pages. And six of these are from Elizabeth Cady Stanton's anti-religious writings in her 80th year, while Susan B. Anthony is quoted once and other American suffragettes hardly at all.

Also, it seems injudicious to include, as Seldes often does, five or six variations of the same opinions by the same person. What a man says three times is not necessarily truer than what he says once. The 13 pages devoted to Jefferson, for example, offer a dozen more or less equivalent statements on the importance of freedom of religion, and another dozen directed against supernaturalism. I cannot help feeling this space might have been used to better advantage.

SELDES' FOREWORD says that since not only Milton, Shelley **et al** but even "many minor Longfellows" were concerned with life, liberty and freedom of the individual, "I have generally omitted references to the beauties of nature. This book is devoted largely to the nature of man himself."

The body of the book indeed bears out this claim, yet there are some puzzling total omissions, such as Dickens and Elizabeth Barrett Browning; and omissions as well of some of the strongest and most relevant passages of those whose works are included. Also, there are whimsical disproportions: Boris Pasternak, for example, gets two pages, the same as Benjamin Franklin; while Blake, Burns, Eliot and Sean O'Casey average considerably less than a page apiece.

Anthologies are in constant revision, and so may it be with Seldes'. For a later day, I submit for consideration such quotes as these and more from among the great woman writers, and from my much wronged, beloved Dickens:

Austen, Jane: "Single women have a dreadful propensity for being poor, which is one very strong argument in favor of matrimony."

Browning, Elizabeth Barrett: "I don't like coarse subjects, or the coarse treatment of any subject. But I am deeply convinced that the corruption of our society requires not shut doors and windows, but light and air; and that it is exactly because pure and prosperous women choose to ignore vice, that miserable women suffer wrong by it everywhere."

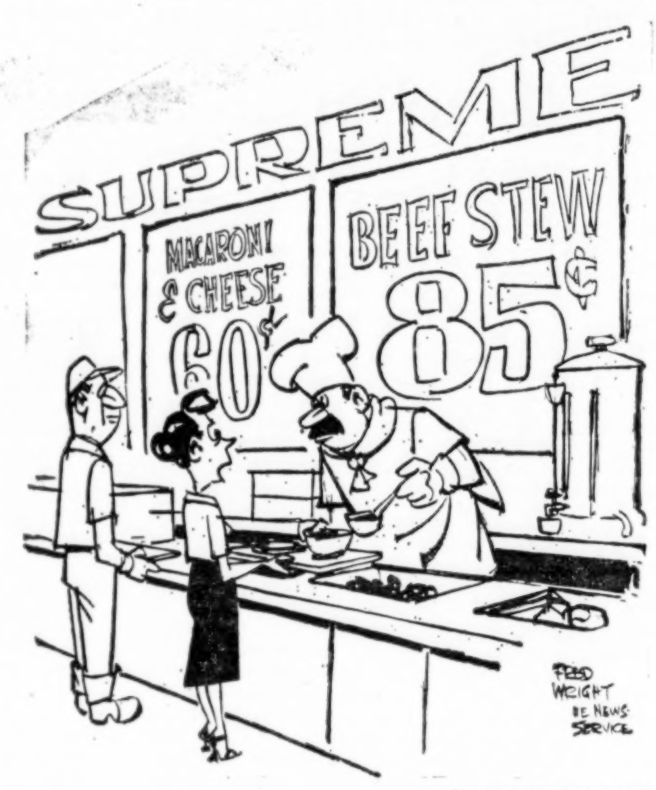
Eliot, George: "The selfish instincts are not subdued by the sight of buttercups . . . To make men moral something more is requisite than to turn them out to grass."

Dickens, Charles: "I have such a very small opinion of what the great genteel can do for us, that I am very philosophical indeed concerning what the great vulgar can do for us, having a decided opinion that they can't do worse."

In fairness to a tremendous job capably done, the last words should be of Seldes' selection, not mine. Of his ample choosing, let's end with these: "Freedom is participation in power" (Cicero) and "It is the final proof of God's omnipotence that he need not exist in order to save us" (Peter De Vries).

Annette T. Rubinstein

**THE GREAT QUOTATIONS, edited by George Seldes. Lyle Stuart, 225 Lafayette St., N.Y.C. 893 pp. $15.*



Drawing by Fred Wright

"Is there a reduced price on beef stew for women? . . . We have one on hourly wage rates!"

He didn't have to go to Moscow

WERE I to tell you that things have been in a mess since early July, I don't think it would be an overstatement. Suffice it to say that the printers in Pascagoula "can no longer print your paper for you." And that's all there is to that.

My immediate problem was to find a printer, then sufficient funds to pay him. Two shops in the state declined to print my paper for me; at one time it seemed I'd have to contact Moscow to find a printer. Finally, Aubrey Williams of Montgomery, Alabama, was kind enough to take the job.

—P. D. East in **The Petal Paper**, Aug. 11.
Subscription: $3 for six months, $5 a year.
East Publications Co., Box 349, Hattiesburg, Miss.

NEW YORK

JACK R. BRODSKY
ANY KIND OF INSURANCE
auto, fire, burglary, life annuities, accident, hospitalization, compensation, etc. Phone: GR 5-3826
799 Broadway, N.Y.C. 3. (11th St.)

CITY CAMERA EXCHANGE
11 John St., N.Y.C.
(Between Broadway & Nassau)
PHONE: DI 9-2956
It's Trade-In-Week. Terrific allowances given for old cameras toward new purchases.

Translation & Typing
English, Yiddish, Hebrew & Russian. Also editing & mimeographing.
HARRY FRIEDMAN FA 7-6340
2524 B. Channel Dr. Far Rockaway

FRANK GIARAMITA
& SONS TRUCKING CORP.
MOVING • RELIABLE
• EFFICIENT • STORAGE
13 E. 7th St. near 3rd Av. GR 7-2457

NEW YORK

The Most Smartly Dressed Guys at the Guardian are
John T. McManus
George Evans
and
Norval Welch
All bought their Fall wardrobes at
HARRY'S
Where $50 to $75 suits are sold for $10 to $15; Slight imperfections that even your wife won't notice.
Suits, Overcoats and Topcoats; tall or short, you'll have no fitting problem.
ALTERATIONS FREE OF CHARGE ON THE PREMISES
Harry's Clothes
"The Corner Shop"
104 3rd Av., Corner 13th St.
Open Till 7 P.M.

DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN
Announces
that a European lecture tour this fall, to include the U.S.S.R. Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and England, makes it impossible for her to accept speaking engagements in the United States until
JANUARY, 1961
Her annual cross country, West Coast Tour will be arranged for
March & April, 1961
Address all inquiries to
THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN
197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, Box 1

RESORTS

This Is Embarrassing!
Can a hotel guest stay too long? Shucks, gee whiz, and gosh all-out! We can't blame you for refusing to go home. Perfect weather. Wonderful people. Reduced rates. You might as well join the gluttons who won't leave our luxurious new buildings. Reserve now for Rosh Hashonah. Leonid Hambro, composer, wit, classical and jazz pianist, heads the 4 full days of wonderful entertainment. There'll be folk dancing, day camp, swimming, tennis and all sports, too. See the new Chaits!
CHAITS HOTEL
Accord 1, N.Y. Kerhonkson 8316

Reserve now for Special Four-Day
ROSH HASHONAH Week-end
Holiday food Entertainment
For choice accommodations
phone TEmple 5-2160
CAMP MIDVALE
Wanaque, N.J.
Memory memo: Gala hootenanny, Sun., Oct. 16, 2 p.m., at Camp. All-star cast headed by Pete Seeger. Adm. $2 adults, $1 children.

LOS ANGELES

List your property with us!
• Homes - Income
• Expert Service
• Buyers with Cash
• Multiple Listings
Franchi Realty
706 No. Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles 29 NO 3-9561

PROGRESSIVE OPTICIANS
WM. L. GOLTZ and Staff
6225 Wilshire Blvd.
Wilshire Medical Arts Bldg.
Street Floor
LOS ANGELES WEbster 5-1107
Between Fairfax & Crescent Hts.

ATLAS OPTICAL CO.
M. Franklin (Maury) Mitchell
OPTICIAN
610 S. Broadway Los Angeles
Suite 405 MAdison 2-3530
QUICK SERVICE—LOW PRICES
Park Free—1 hr., Pershing Sq. Gar.

CHICAGO

CHICAGOANS
FOR SECURE PROTECTION: Phone
LOU BLUMBERG
HArrison 7-5496
INSURANCE FOR HOME OR BUSINESS - LIFE - AUTO - FIRE - HEALTH
330 S. WELLS STREET

IN MEMORIAM

In Memoriam
MANYA BAUMERT
Staunch life-long fighter for a free press.
Her Cousins

PUBLICATIONS

Labour Monthly
An authoritative English socialist magazine of articles and comments on world affairs.
$3 a year
LABOUR MONTHLY
134 Ballards Lane,
London N. 3, England
Edited by R. Palme Dutt

PHILADELPHIA

TRinity 8-5343
DR. S. VOLINSKY
Optometrist
Hours by Appointment
46 Haverford Rd.
Penn Wynne
Phila. 31, Pa.

WITCH-HUNTERS DEFIED

Florida ministers get 6 months for withholding NAACP names

By William A. Price

Special to the Guardian

TALLAHASSEE

TWO FLORIDA NEGRO ministers have been sentenced here to six months imprisonment and fined $1,200 each for refusing to divulge NAACP membership lists to the Florida state Legislative Investigation Committee.

Both men based their refusal on the First Amendment protections against legislative probing in the area of free speech and association. Each minister also said he had gained extra strength to face a jail sentence from the example of Negro youth in the South.

The two ministers, Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, president of the Miami-Dade County NAACP, and Rev. Edward T. Graham, past president, were convicted and sentenced at a brief hearing Aug. 30. Leon County Circuit Court Judge W. May Walker granted the two men a week's freedom to try for a stay of execution before the Florida Supreme Court on Sept. 6.

The court on that date delayed for two weeks a decision on whether it would hear their appeal and whether it would grant bail if the appeal is allowed. Stay of execution was continued pending that decision.

AN HONOR: The Florida Supreme Court has already upheld a contempt citation against Rev. Gibson and had defined the formula under which the two ministers could be required to testify—the very formula which the two ministers defied in a final committee hearing in Tallahassee July 27.

Rev. Graham said he viewed the conviction "somewhat of an honor because I could not shake myself from the thought that children had gone into this very jail to serve time" for asserting their rights during the Tallahassee sit-in demonstrations.

Rev. Graham said: "It has been almost three years now since this legislative committee has been trying to pry out of our hands our membership lists and to make us divulge information which we feel is ours and that we are morally bound to keep. They have been unsuccessful and the only recourse they had was reprisal."

NOT DISMAYED: The committee has said it needed access to the membership lists to determine whether there was "Communist infiltration" in the NAACP. But the two ministers have contended that the real reason has been to expose NAACP members to intimidation and harassment.

"I realize," said Rev. Graham, "that those of us in leadership are going to have to pay penalties of this nature, but I think it's worth it if we can guarantee for those who come after us that they will be free to have association with their fellows and to feel free in assembly without having to say with whom they assemble."

Rev. Gibson said: "I am not dismayed and I will continue to carry on as I think right and I think I have a constitutional right not to answer questions." The estimated $180,000 spent by the committee over a three-year period almost exclusively to get at the NAACP membership lists he described as a "horrible waste of money that could have been well spent on education."

LONG WAIT: The Aug. 30 hearing was held in the square, white stucco Leon County Courthouse where history was made last year when three white men were sentenced to life imprisonment for the rape of a young Negro woman. Before the hearing Judge Walker conferred with lawyers in chambers for an hour and a half while the defendants and 31 Negro friends waited in the wilting heat.

Judge Walker finally took his place. The two ministers, flanked by five lawyers, sat behind three long tables before him. Alone at one end sat Mark Hawes, the legislative committee's counsel.

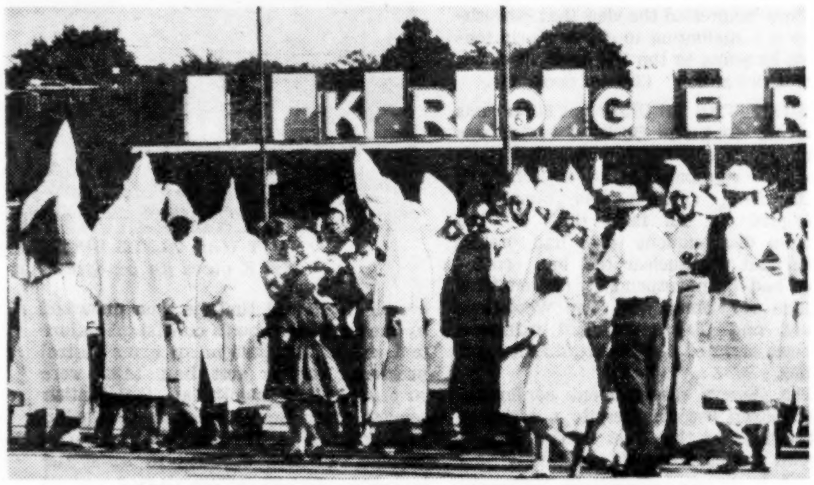
Judge Walker told the men that their contempt had been "grave and serious" and that if such defiance went unpunished, "our democracy will crumble and the foundations of our freedom will be destroyed."

DESTROY OR UPHOLD? Each minister stood with dignity and poise as the judge pronounced sentence, Rev. Graham, South Carolina born but a former semi-pro football player in New York, tall and powerful-looking in a dark business suit, and Rev. Gibson in the simple garb of an Episcopalian minister.

Rev. Gibson, whose speech reflects his West Indian parentage, answered quietly that he would continue to stand on the "constitutional merits" of his case, but the judge neglected to give Rev. Graham an opportunity to reply.

Afterwards, seated on a bench under a live oak tree in front of the court house, Rev. Graham said:

"The judge said we are trying to break down the democratic processes but I think we are trying to uphold them."



THE KU KLUX KLAN RIDES AGAIN IN BIRMINGHAM

They staged a 5-hour motorcade through the city last month, held three street rallies and burned a 13-foot cross. No arrests.

School integration

(Continued from Page 1)

127,000 white public school pupils make it the nation's largest segregated school district. The Houston School Board has announced that out of 22 applications by Negroes six have been accepted. The School Board is still processing eight applications. Integration begins this fall as a result of a Federal court order issued Aug. 4. Though school started Sept. 7, the Board delayed admission of Negroes to Sept. 12 in order to insure orderly procedure.

Houston integration is scheduled to take place on a grade-a-year basis under which this year each first grade student may choose to enroll either at the formerly all-white or formerly all-Negro school in the area. In 1961 the choice will be open to first- and second-graders and so on until integration is completed in 1971.

BIG TEST: A real test for the Deep South has been delayed until Nov. 14 when New Orleans is scheduled to begin desegregation. The process there will be carefully watched for several reasons:

- It is one of the largest cities in the South ordered to desegregate and may provide a pattern for others, like Atlanta and Dallas. (Atlanta has been ordered to desegregate in September, 1961.)
- Its anticipated school enrollment for this year is 94,000, of which 49,000 are Negro. This compares to proportion of Negroes to whites in Little Rock of 25%.
- The school system includes 117 white public schools, 54 Negro public schools and 90 Catholic parochial schools. To date the Catholic system has proposed that it follow the public school pattern.

REACT TO THREAT: Some community action was recently aroused in New Orleans by a repeated threat of Gov. Jimmie H. Davis to close the city's schools. On Aug. 24 white students from four high schools presented to the governor's aide a petition for open schools. Students said the petition represented the opinions of 50 members of Students Alliance for Education, an organization formed during the summer to fight for open schools. Two adult organizations are also advocating open schools.

Two New Orleans newspapers, the **Times-Picayune** and the **Item**, have reversed their former anti-desegregation position and are now for token integration.

SIT-INS HELPED: In other parts of the South the pattern has been much the same. Desegregation is proceeding slowly usually after long court battles, often after violent opposition of community authorities and white parents. An August, 1960, report of the Southern Regional Council gives credit for progress to date to the student sit-in movement, which the Council terms "the most important development of 1960."

"The movement was historic," the Council report said, "not merely for its immediate objectives but for the new dimensions it added to the region's dominant problem.

"Massive resistance had bred massive determination," the Council said. "If in the outcome the sit-in demonstrations may have brought more tension to the school controversy, there were other equally probable products. The resolve of Negro Southerners to push against the policies of calculated delay and minimal compliance was deepened; and a growing body of community leaders learned, as evidenced by the impressive number of settlements of the lunch counter question, that the region's racial conflicts begged for solution, and not for more evasion."

VIRGINIA STUDY: The former capital of the Confederacy, Richmond, Va., has capitulated with the acceptance of two Negro girls at a junior high school without incident. In nine other communities in the state a sprinkling of Negro students started classes with whites. But a Roanoke high school, which accepted Negroes for the first time this fall, has been charged by the NAACP with segregating its 11 Negro students in a one-room building separate from the main school building.

Virginia has the only county in the country with no public schools. Prince Edward county's Board of Supervisors closed all 21 of its public schools in 1959 when a Federal court ordered desegregation of a high school. White students attend improvised schools set up by the Prince Edward County Educational Foundation, a citizens' group formed to cope with the situation. The Foundation is financed mainly by public funds through a tuition grants law. The group plans to build a new school and has pledges of $240,000.

About 1,500 Negroes have no schools though a Negro pastor, Rev. L. Francis Griffin, is seeking homes in an "adopt a child" program to send children to school out of the county. Nearly 200 Negroes attend high school in nearby counties or at a junior college in North Carolina.

DELIBERATE SPEED: Tennessee, which has about 250 Negro students out of 148,000 in white schools, has desegregated schools in Knoxville with 28 Negroes in the first grade under a Federal court order approving a grade-a-year plan. In Nashville, in its fourth year of gradual integration, the first four grades are mixed.

In Delaware 46% of the state's 77,000 public school pupils attend integrated schools, mostly in the Wilmington area. A Federal court has struck down a grade-a-year plan and ordered state-wide integration to begin in the fall of 1961.

FLORIDA: First real desegregation in Florida took place this fall when two Negro girls entered a North Miami Beach white school. Of 67 bi-racial school districts, one was "desegregated" in 1958 when 490 Negroes attended school with eight whites in one school and at another, serving only military personnel, 22 Negroes attend with more than 700 whites. In Tampa, applications of 78 Negroes were rejected. This began there what promises to be a major campaign throughout the South—"massive applications" for transfers to all-white schools.

In Daytona Beach the NAACP has brought what its attorneys describe as "the most comprehensive suit yet against school segregation." The suit seeks a complete reorganization of the school system on a non-racial basis.

NEW YORK: In New York, a "sit-out" planned by Negro and Puerto-Rican parents of children in over-crowded schools was canceled after the Board of Education announced a voluntary transfer program for some schools on the junior high and high school levels. A meeting between parents and the Board reached agreement that as many transfers as possible will be made this year and the plan, "open enrollment," will be extended to elementary schools as soon as possible.

LASTING EFFECTS: Current trends indicate that the fight against integration will have long-lasting ill-effects. The Southern Conference Educational Fund has said that student expulsions and dismissal of teachers on accusations of being active in the integration struggle threatens to "strip the Southern schools and colleges of some of its best minds and its best teachers."

School closings also cause permanent harm, the Fund said, pointing out that when Norfolk, Va., schools re-opened after "massive resistance" had forced their closing, 2,500 of 10,000 high school pupils had disappeared. One-fourth, therefore, never finished high school. From the senior classes of three white high schools fewer than 50% were graduated.

ECLC to hold N.Y. forum on free speech for Nazi

SHOULD NAZIS BE DENIED freedom of speech? will be the subject of a forum on Sept. 20 at the New York Trade Show Buliding, 500 Eighth Ave., New York City. The discussion is sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee because of the current controversy over denial of a permit to George Lincoln Rockwell, American Nazi Party leader, to speak in Union Square.

Dr. Corliss Lamont, philosopher and vice-chairman of the ECLC, will preside. Speakers include Conrad Lynn, chairman of the Committee to Protest Racial Defamation; Arnold Johnson, vice-chairman of the Communist Party of New York and candidate for Congress in the 21st Congressional District; Dr. Royal W. France, secretary of the National Lawyers Guild; Prof. David Haber of Rutgers University Law School, and Leonard B. Boudin, general counsel of the ECLC.

Audience participation is invited. Admission will be $1.

UN and cold war

(Continued from Page 1)

IT WAS QUITE DIFFERENT ONLY A YEAR AGO
Mr. K gives an autograph at the UN on his 1959 visit

the UN session. Indonesia's President Sukarno, Guinea's President Toure and the United Arab Republic's President Nasser announced they would be present when the Assembly opened, and Ceylon's Premier Mrs. Bandaranaike said she would attend if the domestic situation permitted it. Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro was reported to be planning to address the Assembly.

Leaders of India, Indonesia, the UAR, Yugoslavia, Ghana, Ethiopia and Sudan were reported (UPI, Sept. 10) to be conferring through diplomatic channels on a joint approach on disarmament at the Assembly session and on a program for using funds saved by disarmament. Even in Iran, which seemed to be cautiously exploring the way to neutralism in the East-West cold war, officials were said to have "expressed the view that Khrushchev is contributing to easing world tensions by going to the UN as head of the Soviet delegation" (**Times**, Sept. 11).

BEHIND THE DECISION: There was evidence that the Soviet Premier was coming to the UN with serious proposals and not for propaganda, as some charged.

His final decision was apparently prompted by the facts that (1) the Geneva disarmament talks had broken down and the nuclear test ban conference had been suspended; (2) ominous reports were emanating from West Germany; and (3) tension had increased in some areas of Asia, Latin America and Africa.

The Geneva disarmament conference broke down because, despite a series of concessions to the West in the June 2 revised Soviet proposals, the West continued to demand maximum inspection with minimum disarmament and refused to set a time limit for comprehensive and universal disarmament. On June 27 the Soviet delegation withdrew and placed the issue in the lap of the 15th UN Assembly session. (For details, see **Guardian**, July 11).

CONCILIATION SEEN: On the same day Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) told Congress that the June 2 Soviet proposals conveyed to him "a general impression of conciliation" and that he was disturbed by the administration's consistent failure to take the initiative in an arms control program. Nuclear test ban talks were suspended last month at U.S.-British request, after Soviet delegate Tsarapkin had accepted a British proposal for a "cabinet" of five deputies to assist the test ban control administrator. Since then there has been tremendous pressure in the U.S. for renewal of nuclear weapons tests.

While the Pentagon and the AEC continued to dominate U.S. disarmament and nuclear weapons policy, from West Germany came reports that confirmed the worst fears about West German expansionism and rising militarism. During July and August, Chancellor Adenauer told a Dusseldorf crowd that through German alliance with the West "East Prussia would again be free;" Vice Chancellor Erhard assured a refugee rally in Cologne that Polish-held Upper Silesia will be recovered; and Transport Minister Seebohm promised former residents of the Sudeten region of Czechoslovakia recovery of their lost territory.

THE GENERALS: In an Aug. 19 memorandum the West German Army generals openly demanded what had been tacitly promised them: conscription and nuclear weapons. The memorandum was drawn up by the West German General Staff, which included Vice-Admiral Friedrich Ruge, who served Hitler as naval commander in the attack on Poland and later as admiral on the staff of Field Marshal Kesselring, convicted war criminal; Lt. Gen. Joseph Kammhuber, who commanded under the Nazis the crack "Edelweiss" bomber squadron and the Luftwaffe in North Norway; and Maj. Gen. Alfred Zerbel, who was a Nazi colonel in the attack on the Soviet Union.

Under a 1955 agreement West Germany is forbidden to possess nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons or to acquire naval vessels of more than 3,000 tons displacement. While the generals' memorandum threatened to nullify the agreement, NATO commander Gen. Norstad recommended lifting the 3,000-ton limit of German naval vessels. On Aug. 26 Adenauer, after consulting Defense Minister Franz-Josef Strauss, announced that he "agrees fully" with the generals' memorandum. The West German press launched a campaign for building 6,000-ton destroyers big enough to carry nuclear missiles.

The generals' memorandum disturbed not only the Soviet Union—which has strongly protested arming West Germans with nuclear weapons—but also many allies of the U.S. The London **Times** (**Aug.** 22) called it "a serious matter," especially since the nuclear weapons were "bound to include the Polaris missile [which] is a total war weapon." The **Times** added: "Most disquieting is that the German generals appear to be telling the political leadership what must be done." The London **News Chronicle** (Aug. 26) criticized it because, it said, in Germany "the political power of the armed forces were so recently and so frightfully misused to serve the ends of the Nazis."

A PROPER TIME: Within West Germany itself, the liberal **Frankfurter Rundschau** (Aug. 21) said that the memorandum was "a continuation of the worst traditions of the German General Staff." And the Munich **Suddeutsche Zeitung** (Aug. 25) quoted the Amsterdam **Algemeen Handelsblad** as saying: "From the day on which the German army autocratically disposes of nuclear arms, the third world war will no longer be avoidable."

While West Germany remained the hottest spot, East-West tension had also increased in Japan, Laos, Cuba and the Congo.

It seemed a proper time for heads of UN member governments to gather around a conference table.

RIVER ROUGE THREAT

Ford plant shift may cost 20,000 jobs

Special to the Guardian

DETROIT

MORE THAN 20,000 employes at the Ford Rouge plant in Dearborn, Mich., will lose their jobs if the company's plan to produce its 1962 small car model in West Germany is realized.

Rouge workers became suspicious when the 1962 tool and die program was scrapped with resulting lay-offs. Several thousand employes had been laid off previously when other work was transferred to Lorain, Ohio.

United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther met with Henry Ford II to plead for the return of work to the Rouge plant, where most are high seniority employes. Ford made no commitment.

Wages at the Rouge plant average about $2.80 an hour plus 50c in fringe benefits. Wages for comparable work in West Germany are 69c an hour.

UNEMPLOYMENT GROWS: Ford has built 62 new plants since 1947, scattered across the country, and one in West Germany. Each is highly mechanized and automated and requires fewer workers than the old plants.

The company's dispersal program has meant unemployment in the old plants, where many workers have been on the job for decades. At the Rouge plant, for example, in 1947 there were 74,000 employes, today there are about 30,000.

But the company had prospered handsomely. In 1947 it was nearly bankrupt but now it is the second richest auto manufacturer.

Ford Local 600 leaders held an emergency closed session with Reuther to plan counter moves. Some Rouge workers are demanding that the union make a fight against run-away plants in next year's negotiations. Others, not willing to wait, want demonstrations now.

News is breaking fast these days!
SIGN UP A NEW READER TODAY—$1 FOR 13 WEEKS

(Name)

(Address)

(City, Zone, State)

(Sub sent by)

Mail with $1 for 13 weeks ($5 for 52 weeks) to:
NATIONAL GUARDIAN 197 E. Fourth St. New York 9, N.Y.

SOCIALIST WORKERS AND SOCIALIST LABOR

Two socialist candidates run for President

ERIC HASS
Heads SLP ticket

THE FORMATION of a Committee for Real Electoral Expression was announced last month by a group of ex-Socialist Party members and independent radicals "for the purpose of uniting all socialists behind the strongest radical organization running candidates in the present election."

The committee will support the candidates of the Socialist Labor Party: Eric Hass, editor of the **Weekly People**, for President, and Mrs. Georgia Cozzini, a housewife, for Vice President. The SLP polled 45,000 votes in 14 states in the 1956 Presidential election. It has contested every election since 1892.

This year the SLP hopes to be on the ballot in New York, Connecticut and Michigan also, for a total of 17 states. The party is in the midst of a $200,000 election fund campaign, and its printing plant is turning out millions of leaflets. The party organ, the **Weekly People**, has a circulation of about 10,000. The address of the Committee for Real Electoral Expression (Robert Auerbach, secy.) is 203 West Water St., Urbana, Ohio.

SWP TICKET: The Socialist Workers Party, whose candidates are Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice President, reported last week that it had qualified for a ballot place in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Montana, Colorado and Utah. The SWP is seeking ballot status in over a dozen states. In New York, where a minimum of 12,000 voters in 62 counties must sign ballot petitions, the required signatures were reported obtained in 31 counties.

At a press conference Aug. 17, Dobbs said the campaign was receiving "growing support of independents, including the endorsement of the 1952 Progressive Party candidate, Vincent Hallinan." He said: "Throughout the U.S. the pundits have already conceded and the voters are beginning to realize that no substantial choice is offered by the platforms and the candidates of the two major parties." SWP headquarters are at 116 University Pl., New York City 3, N.Y.

At a Michigan State convention Aug. 21, the SWP offered a full slate of candidates for statewide office: Robert Himmel, governor; Evelyn Sell, lieutenant-governor; Larry Dolinski, secretary of state; Rita Shaw, attorney-general; Harriet Talan, treasurer; Edith Gbur, auditor-general; Frank Lovell, U.S. Senator.

CALENDAR

BOSTON

Join in celebrating 70th Birthday Party for **ELBA CHASE NELSON.** Entertainment, Refreshments. Sat., Sept. 17, 8 p.m., Robert Carpenter Hall, 1258 Blue Hill Av., Mattapan.

Hear **MYRA WEISS,** Vice-Presidential candidate of Socialist Workers Party, speak on "A Socialist Candidate Views the 1960 Elections," Thurs., Sept. 22, 8:15 p.m., Room 200, 295 Huntington. Auspices: Boston Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

PETE SEEGER — Orchestra Hall — Sat., Oct. 8, 8:30 p.m. Tickets: $3.85, 3.30, 2.50, 2.00, available at Discount Records, Inc., Hyde Park Co-op Credit Union, Devon Music, Baca Radio (Evanston). Mail orders: Orchestra Hall, 220 S. Michigan. Presented by Triangle Productions.

DENVER

EYEWITNESS REPORT ON JAPAN—
A SOCIALIST PEACE PROGRAM
FOR AMERICA
by **FARRELL DOBBS**
Socialist Workers Party
1960 Presidential Candidate
Saturday September 24 8:00 p.m.
1227 California St., Denver
Ausp: S.W.P. Cont. 75c

LOS ANGELES

WOMEN IN THE FIGHT FOR LIFE is theme of testimonial banquet honoring women outstanding in various fields of work, in commemoration of 40th anniversary of women's suffrage—Sun., Oct. 7, 5:30 p.m., Alexandria Hotel, 5th & Spring. Donor contrib. $10. Proceeds to The People's World. For reservation call MA 6-6616 or WE 1-5206.

NEGROES & THE 1960 ELECTIONS
Civil Rights and the Democratic
and Republican Parties
A Socialist Alternative
The Negro Struggle & the
Labor Movement
Speakers:: **Eleanor Letha Cary,**
veteran Socialist leader
Erroll Banks. Cand. for Cong., 32 Dist.
Fri.,, Sept. 23, 8:15 p.m., 1702 E. 4 St.
Auspices: Militant Labor Forum. Questions, Discussion, Refreshments.

PHILADELPHIA

BANQUET, celebrating 41st Anniversary Communist Party—Fri., Oct. 7, 7 p.m., at Diamond Hall, 249 S. 9th St., nr. Locust. Full course dinner, entertainment. Gus Hall, Gen. Secy.,CP USA, will speak. For reservations ($4) phone T. Nabried, CE 2-0512 or F. Gabow, CH 8-4667.

SAN FRANCISCO

THERE IS GOING TO BE
A PARTY
SOON
Someone will call you.

NEW YORK

Guardian Night With
SVIATOSLAV RICHTER
Sunday Evening October 30
Carnegie Hall Call: OR 3-3800

SHOULD NAZIS BE DENIED
FREEDOM OF SPEECH?
You will have a chance to express your
views at the
FREE SPEECH FORUM
Tues., Sept. 20 8 p.m.
N.Y. Trade Show Bldg. 8th Av. at 35th St.
Speakers:
CONRAD LYNN, Chairman,
Comm. to Protest Racial Defamation
ARNOLD JOHNSON, Vice-Chairman,
Communist Party of New York
DR. ROYAL W. FRANCE, Secretary
National Lawyers Guild
PROF. DAVID HABER,
Rutgers Univ. Law School
LEONARD B. BOUDIN, General Counsel,
Emergency Civil Liberties Comm.
DR. CORLISS LAMONT will preside
Adm. $1 Auspices:
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 7th Ave., N.Y.C. 1

Welcome Home Reception
for
ISABELLE AND YURI SUHL
"Impressions of a year in England, Poland, Israel, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, France."
Illustrated by films
Sunday, Sept. 18 2 p.m.
Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48 St.
Songs by Teddi Schwartz - Refreshments
Sponsored by JEWISH CURRENTS
Donation $1.

AMERICAN THEATER on 3rd St., bet Aves. B & C.—CA 8-6875.
WED, THURS., FRI., Sept. 14, 15, 16
2 Outstanding Russian Films in color w. Eng. titles: Moussorsky's **"BORIS GODUNOV"** plus 'The Circus Star." Don't miss these superb films.

GALA FALL SOCIAL
Music - Refreshments - Entertainment
Songs by Lil Goodman & Al Moss
Saturday, Oct. 8 8:30 p.m.
269 W. 25 St. (Cor. 8th Ave.)
Proceeds to defeat new industrial screening bill and abolish Un-American Committee. **SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE.** Donation $1.50

LEARN THE TRUTH
Gain and Maintain
VIGOROUS AND VIBRANT HEALTH
THE NATURAL WAY
Monthly Series of Lecture-Classes
DR. HERBERT R. GROSS, D.C., Ph.D.
Noted nutritionist, writer, teacher of Hyde Park, N.Y. Acquire knowledge to understand disease processes & earn radiant PHYSICAL-EMOTIONAL HEALTH through nature's agents only.
WED., SEPT 28, 8 p.m.—1st class
HOTEL WOODSTOCK, 127 W. 43 St.
Contribution: 75c.

BANQUET RECEPTION & CONCERT in honor of **BOB THOMPSON** and his attorney **MARY FAUFMAN** on his release from prison, SAT., SEPT. 17, 8 p.m., Allerton Community Center, 683 Allerton Ave., Bronx. Full-course chicken dinner, excellent entertainment, prominent speakers. Don. $2. Ausp: Bronx Committee for Civil Liberties.

"Labor's Stake in 1960 Elections"—Speaker, **TOM KERRY,** organizational secy., Socialist Workers' Party, Fri., Sept. 16, 8 p.m., 116 University Place (off Union Sq.) Cont. 50c. Ausp: Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Comm.

HUNGARIAN GRAPE FESTIVAL, Sun., Sept. 25, at International Park, 814 E. 225 St., Bronx. Good Hungarian food, music, dancing, games for children, homemade cakes. Adm. 75c. Ausp: Hungarian Press Committee.

Hear **DAN ROBERTS,** editor The Militant, speak on "The Crisis of American Foreign Policy," Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m., 116 University Pl. (off Union Sq.) Cont. 50c. Ausp: Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Comm.

"UNCENSORED REPORT ON
THE CUBAN REVOLUTION"
featuring **JOHN HENRIK CLARKE** and others on Sun., Sept. 18, 8 p.m. New York Intercultural Society Studio, 108 W. 45th St. Cont. $1. Social.

CLASSIFIED

RESORTS

BRIEHL'S, Wallkill, N.Y. 2 hrs. from N.Y.C. via Thruway. Scenic country. Informal atmosphere. Wholesome Food. Home-grown vegetables. Private trout-stocked lake. Free boating. Swimming. Social Hall. Indoor-outdoor games. Folder. Phone Wallkill, Twinbrook 5-2214.

ENJOY INDIAN SUMMER AT SPRING MT HOUSE. All improvements, TV, wholesome food, steam-heated rooms. Write or call Y. Schwartz, Jeffersonville, N.Y., Tel. 290. Still some openings for Rosh Hashonah.

There is only one
HILLBERG FARM
in the Catskills
Its variations are highly appreciated by people with critical taste. It is up to you to find out why. Tel. Kerhonkson 8008 W, Kerhonkson, N.Y.

GENERAL

WOMAN interested in **trip to Cuba,** unable to make Guardian schedule, seeks companion around Thanksgiving. Write Box 15, c/o Guardian, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

DETROIT

FOR ALL YOUR INSURANCE NEEDS
Phone TO 5-7500
MARGARET NOWAK
2634 Glendale, Detroit 38, Mich.

HOLLYWOOD, FLA.

Now selling in Beautiful Hollywood, new 1-bedroom, all electric Co-ops. $6,666 or completely furnished at $6,999. With $12 monthly upkeep it's truly 5th Av. living on a Bowery pocketbook. Our year-round sunshine solves your problems of clothing, heating, colds, medical bills and other high costs of necessities that forever shrink your dollars. Write for information to: Herman H. Sohn, 1230 Johnson St., Hollywood, Fla.

LOS ANGELES

NURSE, Practical, dependable, experienced in mother and baby cases. Child care hour, day or longer, Doctors' and employers' references. Phone: NO 3-6407.

SHOCKED BY THE HIGH COST
OF DYING?
If you believe that ostentatious display at time of death is not for you, that high pressure funeral salesmanship is deplorable, then you may wish to inquire about FUNERAL CO-OPS, **So. Cal. Memorial Assoc., 831 N. Harvard, L.A.**

PUTNEY, VT.

AGAIN, STILL, a warm welcome awaits you at CAROL BROWN'S IRISH TWEEDS, Putney, Vt., (US 5). Tantalizing collection of IRISH HANDWOVEN TWEEDS, throws . . . handknit, handsome, sturdy pullovers, jackets, coats. . . . American - tailored tweed garments. BLEEDING MADRAS, batik-printed and other hard-to-find cottons; Tussah and Siamese silks.

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

GENERAL

AN INNOCENT MAN HAS BEEN
IMPRISONED 3691 DAYS!!
Your dollars will help free him. Write, phone **Comm. for Morton Sobell,** 940 Broadway, N.Y.C. 10, AL 4-9983.

MERCHANDISE

LARGE SAVINGS ON MODERN FURNITURE! Good modern furniture at low markup. Come in and see
SMILOW-THIELLE
N.Y.C. 856 Lexington Av. CY 8-6010
White Plains: 41 Mamaroneck Av.
WH 8-4788
Manhasset: 2046 Northern Blvd.
MA 7-0444
Plainfield, N.J.: 311 E. Front St.
PL 7-0111

3-speed **ENGLISH BICYCLE** Hand brakes, pump, tourist bag. $59.95 value for only $39.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Av (nr. 14 St.) GR 3-7819. 1-hr. free parking.

HELEN'S CHINA OUTLET
features factory irregulars, closeouts.
Discounts up to 75%
304 Amsterdam Av. (bet. 74-75 Sts.)

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N.Y.

HELEN'S GIFT MART
Factory irregulars, closeouts.
Discounts up to 75%
287 Amsterdam Av. (bet. 73-74 Sts.)
Helen Milgrim, prop. TR 3-8060

INSTRUCTION

JEWISH EDUCATION
The Upper Manhattan Jewish Folk Schule in Washington Hts., offers a secular, bilingual, Jewish education: reading, writing, history, story-telling and songs, celebration of Jewish holidays. For information and registration call::
WA 3-6399

MATTHEW KAHAN

CLASSIC GUITAR & MANDOLIN

NI 6-1000

PIANO—SOPHIE SOLOTAROFF, teacher of Yalta Menuhin, Juilliard, Diller-Quaile. New highly effective method. Outstanding results beginners, advanced students. Pedagogy. Phone: TR 7-1541.

SERVICES

UNWANTED HAIR REMOVED
Permanent
Private
Rapid
Latest Medical Method Appt. only
Laura Green — CH 2-7119

FREE LIFE INSURANCE ANALYSIS
Most coverage for least payment
RENE M. SCHENKER
420 Lexington Av., NY 17 MU 3-2837
Personal. business, fire, health, accident

UPHOLSTERY CRAFTSMAN
RE-WEBBING & REPAIRS — done in your home: Reupholstery, slip covers, drapes, foam rubber cushioning. Serving all boros. Fraternal attention. Hy 8-7887.

NORMA CATERERS: Now booking for Fall & Winter Weddings, bar mitzvah, anniversary parties at home or temple. Office parties & home parties served anywhere in the metropolitan area. HU 7-1561.

BUDGET MOVERS & STORAGE: CH 3-7312. Station-wagon, vans—pickup service any time, any place—Insured. Estimates given.—Economical—**PSC 859.**

MOVING AND STORAGE
EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS
Profit by my 20 years experience
Call Ed Wendel, JE 6-8000
on any moving problem.

BUSSIE BROTHERS (Union Movers) Moving, storage local & long distance. We buy and sell new and used furniture. 960 Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn. Phone: BU 4-2988 (24 hours) or BU 2-3398.

RED WAGON Moving, storage, packing, crating. Inexpensive, insured professional. Vans, trucks, station wagons.
Any time, any place.
RED WAGON SP 7-2555 **PSC 768**

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET
MULTIGRAPHING
MIMEOGRAPHING
Custom Letter Service
39 Union Square AL 5-8160

TELEVISION & AIR-CONDITIONING
UNIVERSITY TELEVISION SERVICE
(Bronx, Manhattan, Yonkers)
150 W. Kingsbridge Rd., Bronx 63, N.Y
CY 8-0420

If you are thinking of remodelling your fur coat—the most reliable place is:
MAX KUPERMAN
315 7th Ave. OR 5-7773
Also: Good buys in Alaskan Seal coats, Mink Stoles in all styles. Phone for appointment.

BILL'S RADIO & TV SERVICE
Written Guarantees — Itemized Bills
Prompt — Reliable — Reasonable
268 Blecker St. Phone: WA 9-0813

HI FIDELITY SERVICE
On Monaural and Stereo Equipment
Installation and Repairs.
Tuners Aligned.
N. Weintraub IN 1-7459

FURNISHED ROOMS FOR RENT

EAST SIDE MANHATTAN — furnished room for female. Kitchen privileges, all subways. Call evenings: GR 5-4659.

LARGE, LIGHT ROOM, near park and subway. All conveniences, self-service, $35 per month. Phone after 8 p.m. OL 4-5938.

TURNING POINT Published by
The COMMUNIST LEAGUE

NUCLEAR WASTE DISPOSAL
Throwout Worse Than Fallout!

Revolution Harmless

The Stampede of Tired Radicalism

15c from P. O. Box 24, Midtown Sta., N.Y. 18, or at newsstand S.W. corner 42nd St. & 6th Ave.

THE GALLERY

THE SPIRIT OF CHARITY runs deep in Washington. For some of the nation's leaders it includes the ability to forgive and forget. The rehabilitation of former Nazi Wernher von Braun is a case in point. Although he developed the German V-2 rocket that bombed London during the war, von Braun has been treated as a national hero for helping to develop American missiles.

Columbia pictures made a film of his life, **I Aim at the Stars,** which is to have its American premiere at Loew's Palace in Washington on Sept. 28. The theater has been booked that evening for a benefit for the Army Distaff Foundation. Honorary sponsors of the evening include President Eisenhower, Henry Cabot Lodge, Sen Lyndon B. Johnson, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, Justice Earl Warren, Adlai Stevenson, Gen. David Sarnoff and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Luce.

Europeans seem less charitable. A storm of protest developed when the film was chosen to open the Edinburgh International Film Festival last month.

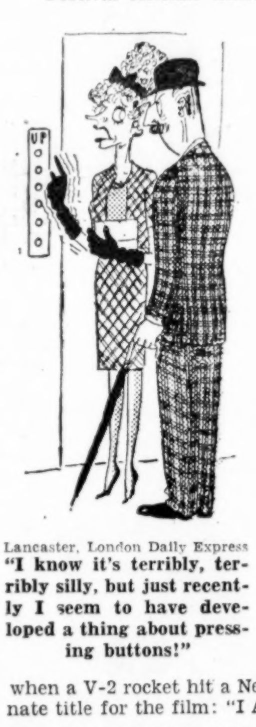
Festival officials insisted it was chosen for its artistic value "quite detached from the morality or immorality of the film." But Dr. John Grierson, chairman of the selection committee, who apparently voted against showing the film, said: "I must say it is a very odd choice at this moment. The festival should not be doing anything to give aggravation at this time."

A special screening for 600 delegates to an international space congress in Stockholm was canceled Aug. 8 at von Braun's request. It was said that he was embarrassed to be present while the film was shown to his fellow scientists. Von Braun insisted that the film be seen first in Germany.

Chapman Pincher, writer for the London **Daily Express** and a member of the wartime rocket team which arrested von Braun, was given a private showing. He reported that the film depicts von Braun as "a space-mad scientist who did not care how his rockets were used so long as he could go on making them," and as "a reluctant Nazi."

The film shows the large number of casualties which occurred when the British bombed von Braun's rocket station, but it shows none of the casualties in London from the German rockets.

Recalling that 164 persons were killed when a V-2 rocket hit a New Cross store. Pincher suggested an alternate title for the film: "I Aimed at London."



Lancaster, London Daily Express

"I know it's terribly, terribly silly, but just recently I seem to have developed a thing about pressing buttons!"

MRS. DOROTHY NOGARD was arrested and charged with violating state gaming laws for keeping a slot machine in her living room in Fair Lawn, N.J. Mrs. Nogard protested: "I let my own children—one 8 and one 12—and their friends play the machine with nickels that I supplied and of course took the nickels back when they finally got nickels out of the machine." She insisted that she was trying to teach the youngsters the evils of gambling . . . The **Saturday Review** reported (Aug. 27): "One evening during last year's steel strike, Benjamin Fairless, head of the American Iron and Steel Institute and former chairman of the U.S. Steel Corporation, took his wife and daughter to dinner at the Colony Restaurant in New York City. David McDonald, president of the United Steel Workers, was also at the Colony that night, entertaining Miss Zsa Zsa Gabor and a few other friends. The two parties found themselves at neighboring tables. And what happened? Mr. Fairless sent over a bottle of champagne; Mr. McDonald unhesitatingly accepted it." . . . Pietro di Donato, author of **Christ In Concrete** and a new book, **Three Circles of Light,** said: "I want to write a modern **Faust** in which Faust is a physicist. The theme has incalculable meaning for our times. We have bartered our soul for everything Faust wants. I want to do for today's world what Dante did for the Catholic world. In my **Faust,** Eisenhower will visit the Inferno and meet the Rosenbergs. Truman will see thousands of mutilated Japanese bodies."

IN A LETTER to the Philadelphia **Bulletin** ,Mitchell F. Bunkin, a college sophomore just returned from a month's trip through the Soviet Union, gave his explanation of the recent expulsion of American students from the U.S.S.R. He wrote: "These students were not expelled for distributing literature but for the way in which they distributed it. They were supposedly standing on a street corner passing out literature to pedestrians. They then commenced to push literature through open bus windows. The Soviet government as well as the great majority of Soviet citizens indignantly regard this as open distribution of propaganda." . . . The GUARDIAN's James Aronson will be heard in a 15-minute commentary on WBAI-FM New York on Sept. 29 at 7 p.m. . . . Robert Clogher, Promethean Nudist candidate for President, suggests as a text justifying his candidacy Proverbs 11:14: "Where no vision is, the people perish; in the multitude of counselors there is safety." He adds: "Richard Milhouse Tweeddledum and John Fitzgerald Tweeedledee are 'no multitude of counselors'." Clogher is looking around for a running mate, He writes: "We should maybe have an unattached female 35-42, willing to apocalyptize her fundaments for political purposes, from maybe Massachusetts?" He believes a woman on the ticket would give it great appeal under the slogan, "Women of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your itsy bitsy, teeny weeny, yellow polka dot bikinis."

—**Robert E. Light**

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

Three Fine New Albums

Vanguard Records has opened the fall season with three wonderful albums. They will make an outstanding addition to anyone's library. The list price for each is $4.98, but they are available from GBS for only $3.75 each, including postage.

Herschel Bernardi is widely known as an actor and story-teller. He is remembered for the book-seller's role in "The World of Sholem Aleichem." He appears regularly as Lt. Jacoby of homicide on the "Peter Gunn" TV show.

Martha Schlamme is a singer with an outstanding repertoire of songs from around the world. Her earlier albums of Jewish folk songs and "Songs From Many Lands" were best-sellers.

Leon Bibb is the "hottest" singer in the folk song field. New Yorkers have admired his work for some time, but he gained a national reputation after two appearances on the Ed Sullivan TV show and from previous Vanguard albums. He appears regularly in the nation's best nightclubs.

MARTHA SCHLAMME
at TOWN HALL

VSD 2063. "MARTHA SCHLAMME AT TOWN HALL." The album was recorded at a New York concert last February. Miss Schlamme is in beautiful voice, accompanied by a piano, clarinet, violin, cello and guitar. The songs range from Jewish, Russian, Mexican, English, Australian and Spanish folk songs to "Seerauber Jennie" from "The Threepenny Opera." There's something here for all tastes.

VRS 9074. "CHOCOLATE COVERED MATZOHS—An Evening with Herschel Bernardi." There ought to be a Congressional investigation to discover who dreamed up the unappetizing title of this delicious album. It was recorded at a Los Angeles Jewish community center to which Bernardi escapes regularly from Peter Gunn and where he captures the hearts of large audiences.

CHOCOLATE COVERED MATZOHS
An Evening with Herschel Bernardi
VANGUARD

Bernardi is a connoisseur and practitioner of Jewish humor. In this album he tells stories, jokes and anecdotes and, with the audience's help, sings several Jewish folk songs. The humor is Jewish only in its origin. Few will miss the irony of: "Only in America could a Jew become the Lord Mayor of Dublin."

This is the kind of album you'll want to play when company comes.

sings
Love Songs

VRS. 9073. "LEON BIBB SINGS LOVE SONGS." Bibb built his reputation as a folk singer but here he proves the tremendous range of his voice and style. Songs include: "When Love Is Kind," "Cotton-Eye Joe," "Shenandoah," "I Know Where I Am Going," "Black Is The Color of My True Love's Hair" and nine others. Bibb is accompanied by an instrumental ensemble conducted by Milt Okun.

This album is bound to be a best-seller, so get your copy soon.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

Description of Item	Amount

(N.Y.C. buyers add 3% sales tax)

TOTAL

Orders filled only in the U.S.

No COD's Full payment must accompany each order. Please make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

Name ....
Address ....
City .... Zone .... State ....

When ordering items in color, always specify second color choice.

NEWSPAPER

Guardian Vitamins

All brands of vitamins are manufactured to strict government regulations and are exactly alike. The only difference is the price—and that's where GBS shines. We bring you ten major types of vitamins for up to 50% less than you'd pay elsewhere.

THERAPEUTIC VITAMINS WITH MINERALS (for people on restricted diets). 100 capsules	$4.95
MULTIPLE VITAMINS (small, easy-to-swallow capsules). 100 capsules	$1.75
HIGH POTENCY MULTIPLE VITAMINS FORMULA (for general vitamin deficiency). 100 capsules	$3.25
HIGH POTENCY THERAPEUTIC FORMULA (for the run-down and convalescents). 100 capsules	$3.00
VITAMIN-MINERAL (for general use). 100 caps.	$2.50
PEDIATRIC DROPS (for infants and children). 60 cc bottle	$2.25
HEMATINIC ANTI-ANEMIA FORMULA (high in iron, liver and B-12). 100 capsules	$4.00
GERIATRIC FORMULA (for 35-year olds and up). 100 capsules	$3.50
STRESS FORMULA (for undue stress or strain caused by worry or fatigue). 100 capsules	$5.50
VITAMIN-MINERAL CANDITABS (Choice of chocolate, cherry, or both flavors mixed). 100 tablets	$2.25

the SPECTATOR

The travail of Rev. Jones

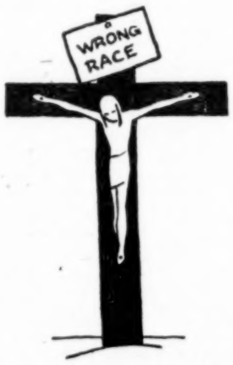
THE REV. ASHTON JONES is a man who has lived and worked for the past 29 years by the simple phrase, "Brotherhood is universal love." Ashton Jones is 63 years old. As a "Pilgrim of World Brotherhood," he has traveled many hundreds of miles in a trailer decorated with peace symbols and bearing in large letters on the front of the cab the word, LOVE. He is a preacher who "attempts to live the Universal Religion—the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man." This effort has often brought him difficulties.

His latest trouble started on Easter Sunday, 1960, in Dallas, Texas. Jones had parked his world brotherhood car in front of the First Baptist church and was distributing religious, anti-discrimination literature. One of the Easter churchgoers who passed by wished him to hell for upsetting our way of life. That was the beginning.

The next few days in Dallas were spent "in fellowship, a poster walk and literature distribution" and sit-ins at local variety stores. Jones' next stop was Marshall, Texas, where he had discussions with Wiley College sit-in leaders and spoke to an audience of students. He was arrested on the campus for vagrancy.

"Because of the inhuman roughness of the arresting officers I refused to cooperate," Jones said. "Newspapers reported that I used complete non-resistant methods."

During his 14 days in the Marshall jail Jones experienced the first of many brutal beatings he was to receive during the next few months at the hands of jailers and fellow prisoners. The Marshall sheriff pushed Jones down a flight of steel stairs. Jones said: "I was so limp I rolled only a few steps. Then the deputies stepped in, cursing all the while, and kicked me and shoved with their feet until I was at the bottom."



The judge described a vagrant as "a person without any visible means of support," yet he had $89 in cash and owned his house-on-wheels. He was sentenced to 90 days. While he was in jail his car was badly damaged and his file of a thousand friends' names and addresses was "lost."

His second attack came in the Shreveport, La., jail where prisoners who had been shown a picture of Jones shaking hands with a Wiley College professor beat him so severely that he was hospitalized to have face lacerations stitched. After four days in solitary confinement he spent 17 days under psychiatric observation on the order of the trial judge, and another five days in jail before his trial was resumed. On the morning of the trial the jailer struck him when he asked for a blanket.

HE HAD BEEN ARRESTED for eating in a Negro restaurant. He was found guilty of disturbing the peace and vagrancy. During the trial he was asked if he were a communist or if any of his friends were. He answered no for himself, and said that he did not ask his friends that question. He was asked if he knew Carl and Anne Braden, and replied that they were good friends and had not been convicted of being communists. (Carl Braden is appealing a contempt citation for refusing to answer questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on First Amendment grounds.) Jones was sentenced to eight months in prison after the judge called him an agitator who had worked to destroy "the way of life that we enjoy."

On his arrival at the prison farm prisoners, "in an effort to show their resentment toward anyone working for integration," beat him for about a half hour. To top off the beating one of the prisoners clipped all the hair from Jones' head and body, including his eyelashes.

Later, after a visit from newspaper reporters, prisoners suspended Jones from his bunk with his hands tied as though to a cross and again beat him while trusties looked on. Yet, during his 30 days at the prison farm Rev. Jones preached sermons on "Brotherhood in Action" and concluded that he had "made friends with the other prisoners and that good was accomplished by our association."

DURING ONE SESSION while Jones was reading an article on a debate on segregation between Herman Talmadge of Georgia and Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois he was again beaten—this time while hanging by his feet. The prisoner responsible for this attack, said Jones, "repented during the night . . . we became good friends."

His worst ordeal came the night before his expected release. As a climax of a 30-minute beating he was held under water in a lake 25 or more times.

When on July 14 Jones was released on $1,500 bail he found his car at a gas station on the edge of town mutilated, but bearing a $44 storage charge. His scrapbook of letters was missing.

Jones has announced his determination to fight an 11-months' prison sentence up to the Supreme Court if need be The Los Angeles Congress of Racial Equality has made an appeal for funds to aid Jones in his fight for real justice in Southern courts. Rev. and Mrs. Jones live at 3640 Denton Ave., San Gabriel, Calif.

—**Joanne Grant**

Checks & balances

ALEXANDRIA, MINN.

Our social security checks don't go very far, and last year's income from our little resort was only $100. So I really can't afford it, yet I can't be without the GUARDIAN. Enclosed check leaves me with $3 in the bank.

A. W. Peterson